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# LABOUR'S DYNAMIC

(being reports of speeches delivered at Labour Week in London, 1922)

BY

C. G. Ammon, M.P.,  
George Banton, M.P.,  
George Edwards, M.P.,  
Morgan Jones, M.P.,

Jack Lawson, M.P.,  
G. A. Spencer, M.P.,  
A. E. Waterson, M.P.,  
Robert Young, M.P.,

and other Labour Leaders.

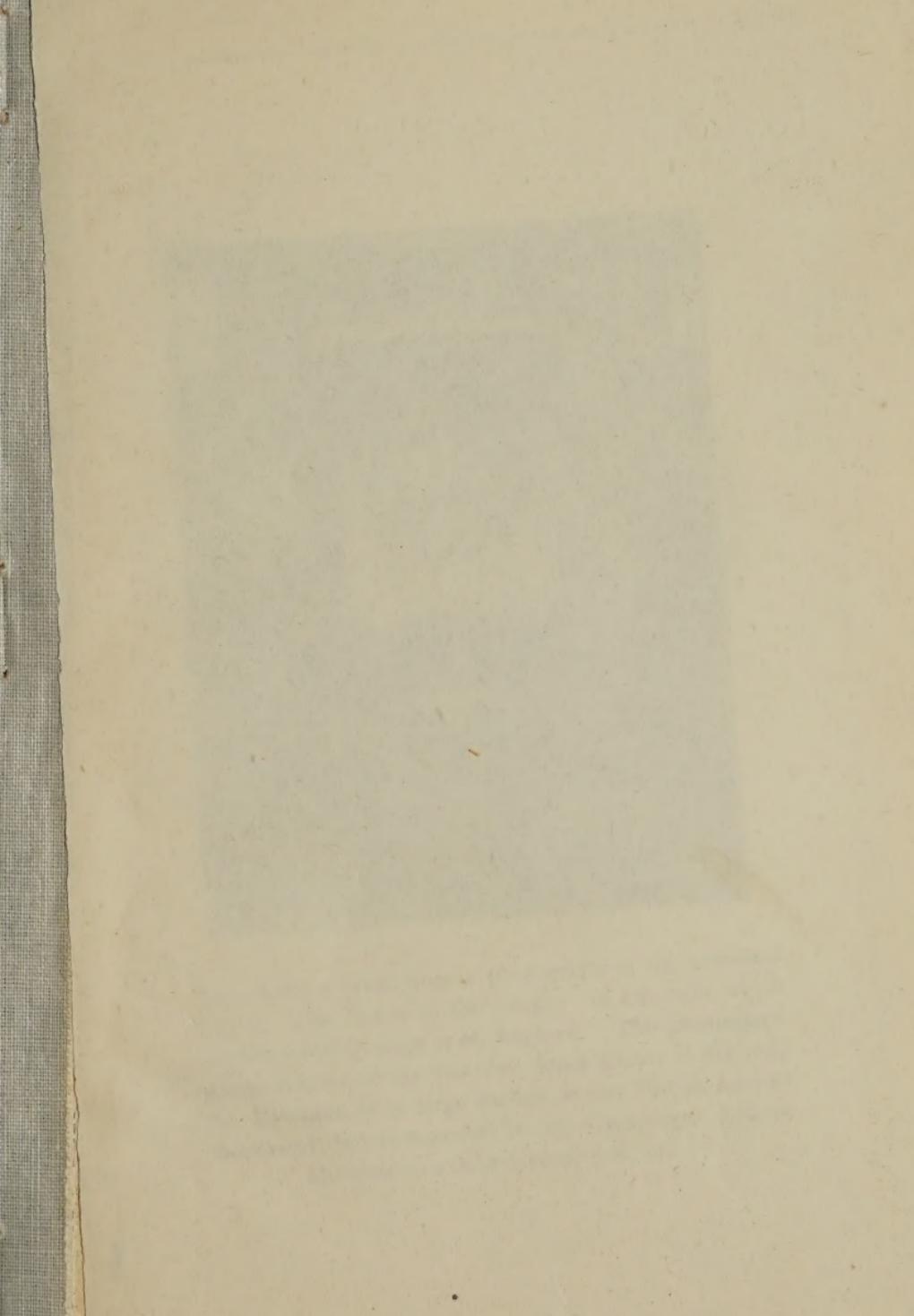


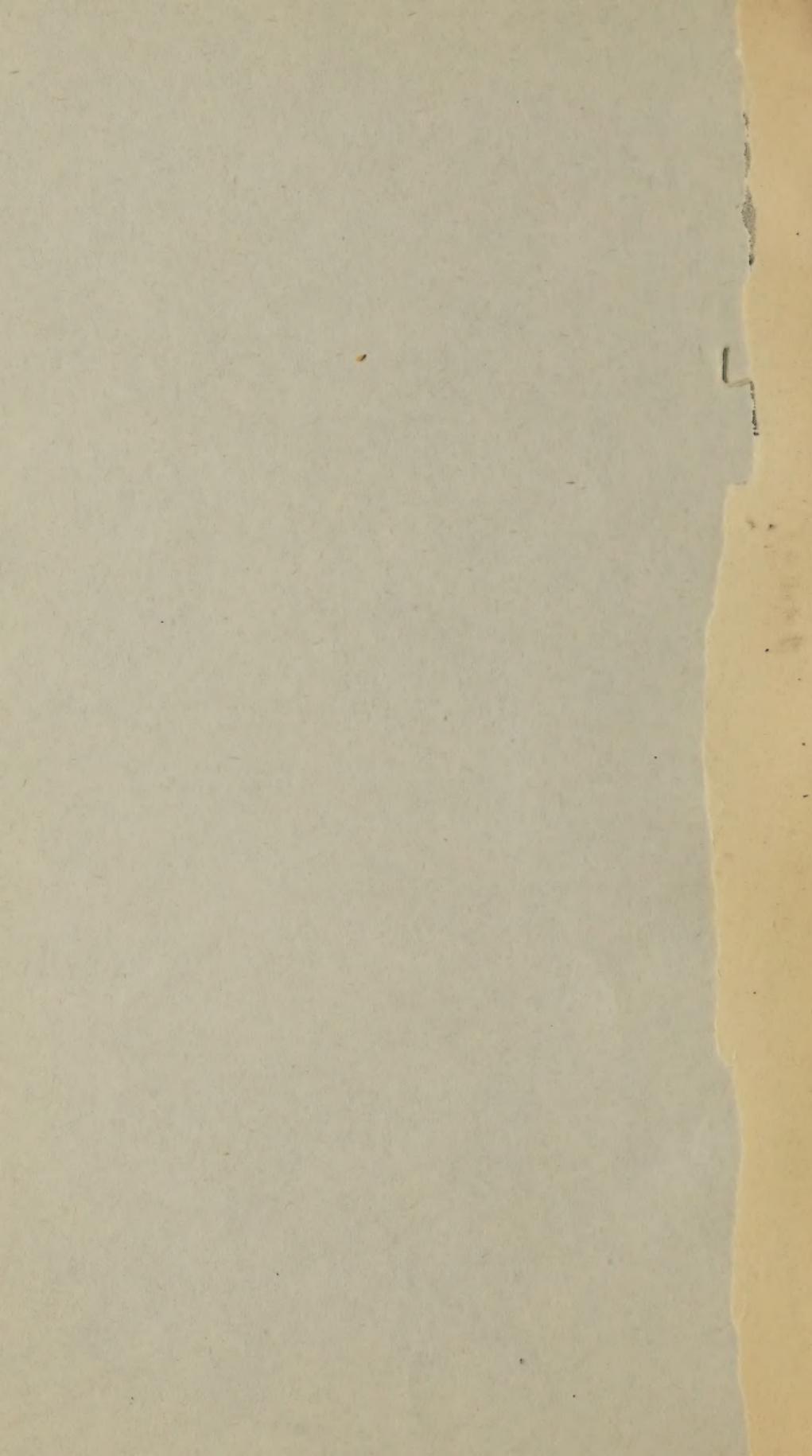
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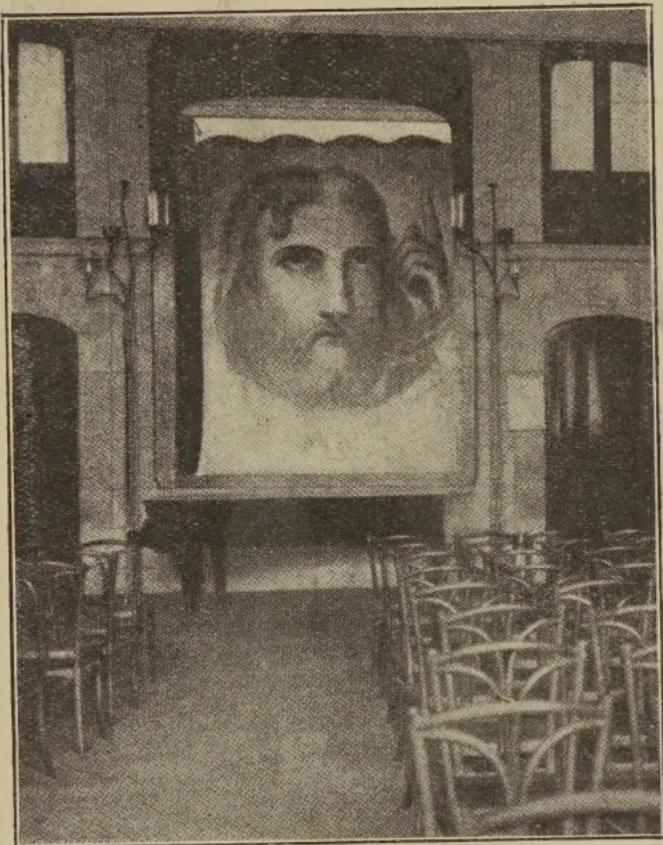
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REMOTE STORAGE







The above is taken from a photograph of the principal hall of "The House of the People" in Brussels, which is referred to on page 57 of this book. This photograph gives evidence of the fact that Jesus Christ is not only the Dynamic of a large section of the British Labour Movement, but is regarded by the Continental Labour Movement as their Dynamic as well.



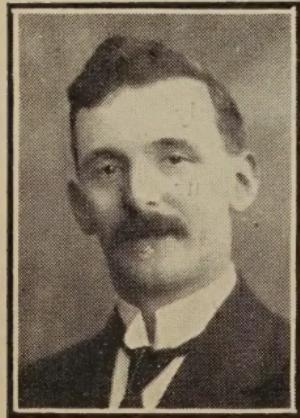
JACK LAWSON



GEORGE BAN



J. GILBERT DALE



A. E. WATERSON



MORGAN JO

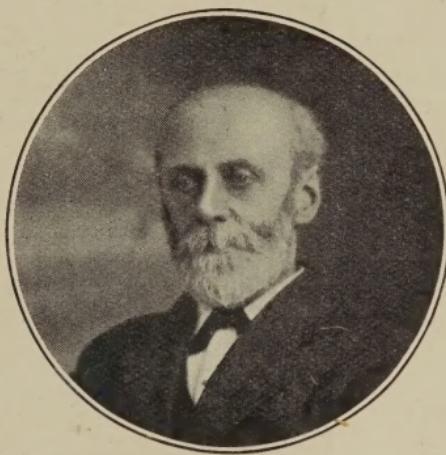
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C. G. AMMON



F. HERBERT STEAD

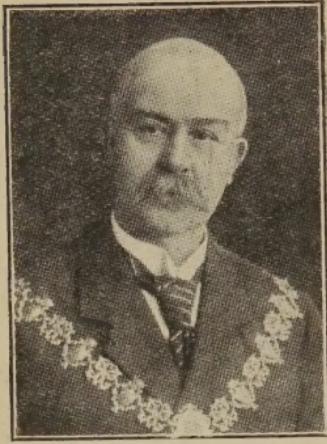


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W. CARTER



MISS MURIEL LESTER



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REV. A. G. PRICHARD



H. H. ELVIN

# Labour's Dynamic

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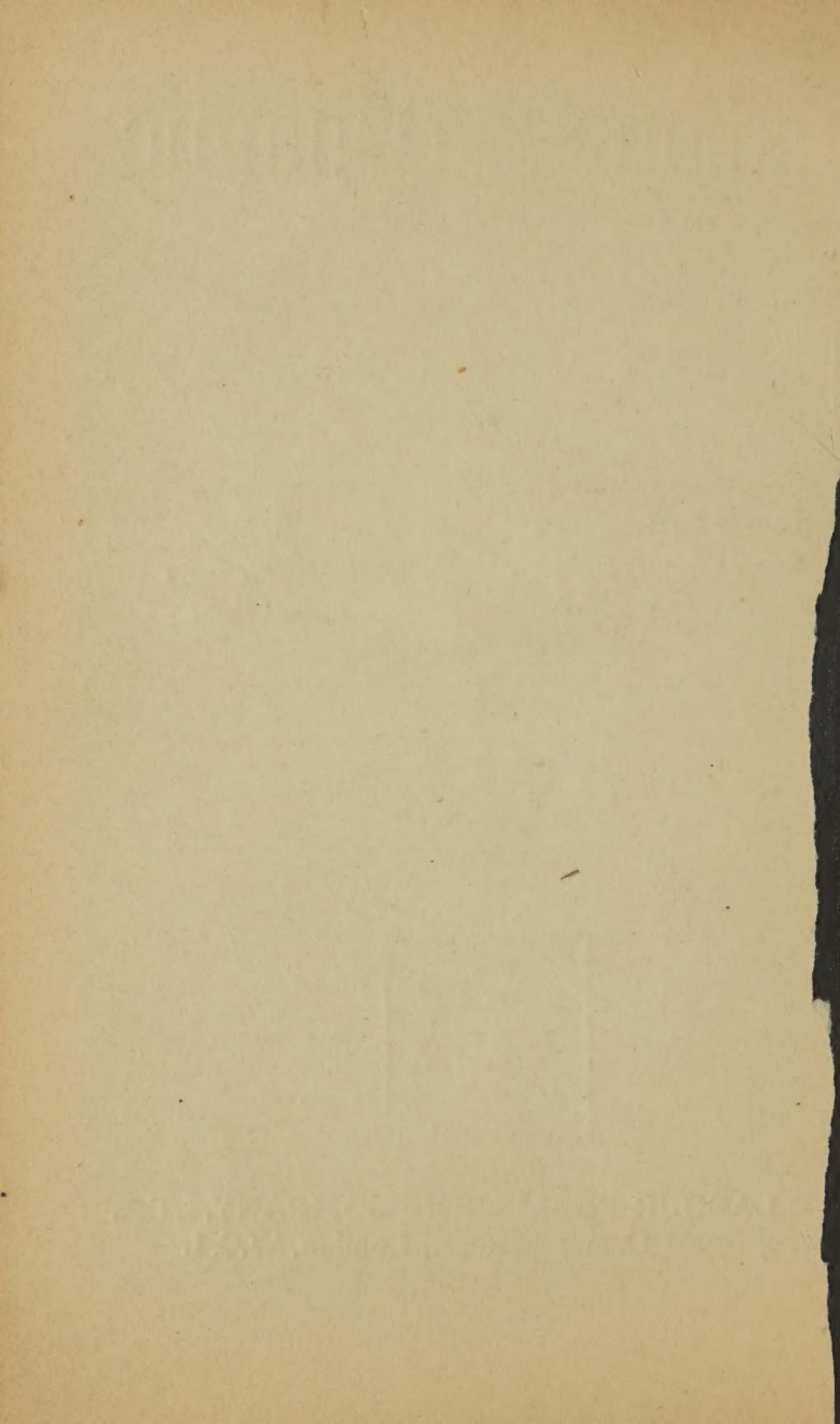
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## WHAT LED UP TO THE 1922 "LABOUR WEEK."

It was laid upon the Convener of the Meetings, early in the year, to mention in certain quarters the desirability of holding another "Labour Week" at Browning Hall as in years past. For a good many weeks the matter was allowed to rest there, nothing being done to arrange for the meetings. It was not, however, until about five weeks previous to the First of May that the Convener felt the impelling urge to go forward in the matter. At first an endeavour was made to arrange for the series to be held all in one place, viz., Browning Hall. At such short notice this was found impracticable, though however the final meeting was held there. At once the message seemed to come—"arrange the Meetings around London." It seemed that nothing else could be done but to endeavour to carry out this mandate, so at once several Ministers of Churches in the metropolis were communicated with, and also a good many M.P.'s. The result was that seven meetings were held from May 1st to 5th, in various parts of London, eight M.P.'s and many other Labour men taking part.

The messages given at the Meetings seemed to call forth the general title of "Labour's Dynamic." There is no doubt whatever that to a large section of the Labour Movement, Jesus Christ is the Dynamic Force Who gives the power and vision to carry on. Mere reforms without the spirit of Jesus Christ will not do much good—this was another note sounded by many of the speakers; while several pleaded for the re-union of the Church with Labour.

The Convener wishes to acknowledge the help and advice given in the organizing of the Meetings by Mr. F. Herbert Stead, M.A., who was the originator of "Labour Weeks." At his inaugural address as first Warden of Browning Settlement, he declared that the Settlement stood for the Labour Movement in Religion. "This Labour Movement in Religion," he said, "might shortly be described as the call of Christ to the workers of the world—and their response to His call." It was certainly manifest during "Labour Week, 1922," that Labour—as represented by the various speakers—had indeed responded to the Divine call. The Labour Movement in Religion is a tremendous fact. It is a great Spiritual Movement with Jesus Christ as its one Dynamic.

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N.B.—"Labour Week, 1922," although convened by one who is connected with the Browning Settlement, had no official connection with same.



*At King's Cross Wesleyan Church.*

## H. G. ROMERIL

(Railway Clerks' Association ; S.E. St. Pancras Labour Party).

While the Chairman cannot tell us about his politics, I am afraid I must speak about mine. I hope also that before I have finished we shall have come to some measure of agreement.

The things which Christianity stands for and the things which the Labour Movement stand for, both, in my opinion, have a common aim and end.

### Driven into the Labour Movement.

I have some association with the Parliamentary Division in which we are meeting, and I ask you to-night to forgive me if I give you a bit of personal experience. I came into the ranks of the Labour Movement because I had to. I had to join Labour's ranks because of what I learnt when I attended Westminster Chapel during Dr. Campbell Morgan's ministry. He made me realise very keenly that I had a duty toward my neighbour. This sense of duty made me feel that I shared the responsibility for the conditions under which my neighbour lived. To ask people to come to Church, to develop the spiritual side of their being, while knowing that the conditions under which they had to live were absolutely detrimental to moral and Christian living, such an attitude was, to say the least, not good enough. What was to be done? I wish to make it perfectly clear that I did want them to come into the Church. I did want them to realise that there was something better to live for than mere bread and butter. But it became clear to me that the problem of how to make both ends meet was always paramount in the lives of most working men and women. The working man knows what it is to feel exhausted at the end of a day's work. He becomes like a sucked orange. He is almost driven back on to the animal plane, leaving any hope of a revival of spiritual aspirations exceedingly remote.

There are hundreds of working-class families living in homes of not more than one or two rooms within a mile or

two of this building. I want these people to live a different kind of life. I want them to have the chance to develop the spiritual life. My duty to my neighbour, therefore, is to do my utmost towards the making of such conditions where he will have this chance. I knew full well that everything was against him, and in looking around I began to wonder what was the best thing to do to get these conditions remedied. Modern science is constantly inventing new devices for labour-saving. Less and less manual labour is required, because the inventive mind has been at work. To the working man, is this a blessing or a curse? It should be a blessing. But why is it that after all this men are still forced to work long hours, and so hard that the development of their spiritual life is well-nigh impossible? In this practical way I began to wonder, and to look around to see if anyone else was doing anything in this direction. To endeavour to put the principles of Christianity into practice in our everyday life is very good, but when there is a great problem to be grappled with and a great difficulty to be overcome, one does like to know what others who are like-minded are doing. Having looked round, one was disappointed to find that exceedingly little was being done by the Church as a body, but the fact began to emerge that the people who were doing something to try and set things right were those of the Labour and Socialist Movement. This conclusion came to me so strongly that, in spite of natural prejudices—which I suppose many of us also share and many of us still endure with regard to such people—I had to get among them. This having done, I felt that at last I was doing something to fulfil this duty to my neighbour.

### **Co-operation or Competition?**

Having explained my personal position, may I endeavour to set out some of the things which we Socialists stand for? We want a Co-operative Commonwealth established. Co-operation between man and man instead of competition in the production and distribution of man's necessities. I contend that this principle of co-operation comes nearer to practical Christianity than does the theory and practice of our competitive system. Some say that if co-operation was the order of the day that all individuality would die. I do

not believe it. But, what is more important, I do not believe that the human family was meant to strive and struggle in the way that our present system compels them to. Reference was made by the Chairman to the difficulty which some of his people here had in living their everyday life, and that such a state of things was entirely opposed to the principles enunciated here from time to time. I am glad that such principles are enunciated here, but what about getting to work to alter affairs and thus help to get these difficulties remedied? We of the Labour Movement are out to do this.

Brethren, I attach myself to the Labour Movement because I felt that there was an abundance of room for co-operation. And you can all help to clear the ground by coming into the Labour Movement and helping to develop the spiritual side of it. There may be men and women in the Movement who possess no vision, who are in it for purely selfish motives. Such people can be found in all parties and organisations. But we also have a very large number of earnest people whose one object is to help their fellow-men, and the securing of a better social system where all will have a better chance. But up to now I have not found much support from the Churches in this direction. There is support from individuals, but collective and general support there is none. The Church seems to boycott the subject, for often the mention of it causes a chilly atmosphere.

### **The Responsibility of the Churches.**

But isn't it time that the Churches began to face facts? The facts may be disconcerting and may cause some uncomfortable thinking, but haven't we hid our heads in the sand quite long enough? Years ago, when the Labour Movement was hardly born and when the subject was generally ignored, there was some excuse for the Churches holding themselves aloof; but to-day things are different. Do you believe that you have a duty towards your neighbour? Do you realise that, although one or two here and there may be able to rise above their circumstances, you have a personal responsibility towards the rest? We emphasise too much Eastern analogies. We think too much in the old Eastern atmosphere, and we thereby lose the spirit of the Master's message as

He would mean it to be applied to modern conditions here in London.

I am prepared to say that if you really believe in the Master's message, you must accept your responsibility as a citizen and you must realise that if you are doing nothing towards the bettering of modern social conditions you must surely be held responsible for their maintenance. Are you doing anything to help, or are you merely acquiescing in these conditions? There is only one way of using your power to affect social conditions, and that is by the use of the political machine. If you are not helping you are actually doing something that will stultify and nullify the efforts of others. I don't see that there is any way of getting out of it. We may, of course, have legitimate defence about details, but for a Christian to defend the present conditions of poverty as a right state of affairs I cannot understand. If you want a more Christian order of society to prevail, I appeal to you to come into the Labour Movement and help to enoble it. Come and bring your Christian influence into it, to leaven it.

Nothing in the way of fault-finding about the Labour Movement can justify you in remaining aloof from it. "Those who are not with us are against us." The Labour Movement has its faults, doubtless many, and so have all movements; but you can come in and help it to get rid of some of them. Because it is practically the only agency which is out for "the abundant life" for all, and for a more Christian order of society, I make this appeal to you tonight.

### C. G. AMMON, J.P., L.C.C., M.P.

(Union of Post Office Workers ; North Camberwell Labour Party).

I am delighted to have the pleasure of taking part in the side of the Labour Movement which lies nearest my heart. I had the pleasure and privilege of conducting a Church Service yesterday evening in cassock and surplice at a Parish Church in Poplar. I spoke to one of the most remarkable audiences ever assembled there. Some who were there said they had never been inside a Church before.

I thought it was a great thing that this joint appeal had accomplished, in that it brought so many working people together in that way.

### **The Promise of God to Man.**

I take as the basis of my remarks to-night Genesis viii. 22 : “ While the earth remaineth, seed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.” This promise came, according to the old story, immediately after God had expressed His disgust with a world full of immorality. But this promise of God goes together with His preceding promise : “ In the sweat of thy brow shall thou eat bread.” There we have side by side the labour of man and the bounty of God.

Any society in which a few do not live by their labours, but on the sweat of other people—where men, women, and children go half-starved, where work is denied, while to settle other people’s disputes men are compelled to go and face death and to inflict death on other men with whom they have no personal quarrel—where in one part of the world food is so plenteous that it has been burnt as fuel to drive locomotives, and in other parts people are dying in millions because of famine—any society, I say, in which such a state of affairs exists stands condemned as non-Christian and anti-Christian.

### **Labour Day and its Meaning.**

But there is an awakening near, like the awakening of the earth to hope and life. What is happening in nature now? Forces are now moving which have lain dormant all the winter. It is not without significance that this is International Labour Day. First of May Demonstrations have been held to-day all over this and other countries.

To me this movement of the workers is a great thing. They are endeavouring to get together where our religious leaders have failed. I speak as a member of the Church. I take my part in the political movement, and I am proud of it. I refuse to believe that the teaching of Christ means that I am to look after myself and nobody else. I must love my neighbour. I must help to raise the standard of life, and help to bring “ the abundant life,” of which Christ spoke, within the reach of all.

Here, to-day, among the workers we have the expression of hopes and aspirations. They look around and see war, famine, desolation, and robbery—legal robbery, but robbery notwithstanding. In expressing their detestation of all these injustices, and in voicing their faith in high ideals and aspirations, they take the same stand as Jesus Christ would take. They may deny that it is the movement of Almighty within them which prompts them to take this stand, but they are putting many of us Christians to shame. Their cry is: "Human life before property."

### "Man's Inhumanity to Man."

What sort of a world is it, and what's gone wrong with it, that there are a million or more of unemployed, that there are many millions starving in Russia, while there is in the world no lack of food or wealth. It is not the Almighty who is responsible for the unjust distribution of it. God has provided these things "pressed down and running over." God has kept His promise "that these things shall not cease."

I live in the slums. Nearly every morning one or two men and women are on my doorstep in distress. They know me, they come to me for help. They cannot get enough to keep body and soul together. All this while corn is being used as fuel in America because it does not pay to send it here. The growing of tea is reduced because if there is too much of it on the market it won't yield a big enough profit. And in the Hamilton fruit-growing district in Canada I saw tens of thousands of tons of fruit being left to rot on the ground, because if shipped the fruit prices would be brought down. We can't defend an order of society in which this sort of thing exists, particularly if we are Christian.

I am against the present order of society, and I will do my best to overthrow it. The Almighty has provided bountifully, but "man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."

### Social Unrest and the Need of Vision.

I look around and see social unrest and upheaval and spiritual dissatisfaction. Many people are afraid because of it. My only fear is that it might die down. The thing

you and I have got to do is to get the right perspective. We must take the long view and be magnanimous. We must be men and women of vision who by steady, hard work of education and permeation will keep on keeping on, believing we shall win through in the end. *We must get this unrest on the right rails with the right dynamic behind it.*

Noah was a man of vision. He set to work to build the ark because he had seen the vision. They scoffed at him, but he went forward believing. He endured while others went under. His vision carried him through. Noah was not perfect; he was once a drunkard. He had three sons, one of them—Ham—saw his father as a drunkard; he missed the genius who built an ark and saved the world.

We are none of us perfect, we all make mistakes sometimes, but God understands our frailties and difficulties. Our duty is to see that we are doing our part to help build a society where it will be easier to do right and harder to do wrong. The wages of sin and licentiousness are higher than the wages of a good life, but to do good is better than to possess riches.

### **Christ—The Wandering Agitator.**

I always admire the “soap-boxers.” Their intention is good. They do their work for no material reward. These are they who have had to endure contempt. These are the “despised and rejected.” Those who have had stones thrown at them. Christ appeared to his contemporaries in much the same manner. He worked for no reward. He was treated with contempt. He was “despised and rejected. He was stoned—and crucified.

I have a quarrel with the artists and theologians. By them Christ is depicted as the immaculate, with a pastoral rod and halo. But was He? A man born in a working-class home. A wandering preacher and an agitator. A man who knew the hardships and difficulties of everyday working life. The Carpenter. You can get the best Socialist teaching from the Bible. When he was in the house of Simon the Pharisee He reproved the Pharisee. He said, “You gave me no water to wash my feet, and no oil to anoint my head. But this prostitute has done it.” The Pharisee would not even so much as touch her with his

cloak, but the Christ told her to " Go in peace," and that her sins were forgiven.

### **The Fettered Church.**

I said that I also had a quarrel with the theologians. My quarrel with them is that they have built a scaffolding of doctrine and dogma fencing round Christ, and by so doing have shut Him off from the common people. The organised Church and the civil authorities of that day crucified Him because He was an agitator. They could do no other if they believed that the social conditions of the day were the best possible. He would be hounded out by the Press of to-day, and half the Church would not recognise Him if He were to come.

The Church to-day is running along its course too easily and smoothly. It is far too self-complacent. It has not got much of the spirit of the Apostles who were described as " men who had turned the world upside-down." John Wesley had some of it, and because he let that spirit have free course in His life, he was stoned and persecuted. The Church is not what it ought to be. It ought to be an instrument of revolution. Not bloody revolution, of course —no bloody revolution has ever benefited the people—but revolution of thought, which will lead to revolution in constitutional action.

### **The Christian Revolution.**

We of the Labour Party want no revolution by the use of force. The people of England have the power in their own hands. A revolution can be brought about by the use of the ballot box. Our Labour principles are sometimes denounced as against Christianity. This statement of similarity made by our opponents is the greatest compliment that could ever be paid. By doing this they are demanding a higher standard from the Labour Movement than they expect from the other political movements. For my part, I accept the challenge. The principle of sacrifice for the good of others—that is a great Christian principle, and that is what our Movement stands for. Christ taught that all had a right to all material necessities, and it is by the sharing of and the administering of these indispensable needs justly and lovingly that we are able to put into practice some of the great Christian principles.

What right has any man to declare that he has a right to a bigger share in the bounty of God than the majority of people? And what right has any man to suggest that God "ordered their estate." He was "the poorest of the poor." He had "nowhere to lay His head." He admonished the proud and overturned the tables of the profiteers, and told them they were "thieves" and that they were making God's house "a den of thieves." His Gospel, if carried out by those professing to be His followers, would upset society far more than Bolshevism.

### **The Coming Awakening.**

But my message to-night is one of resurrection. We see now the dawn of Spring. I believe that the great awakening is coming, as the aftermath of the war. Underneath it all to-day is the surge of the common people whose underlying ideal is the sweeping aside of war, unemployment, misery, and disease, and the competitive system which breeds these things.

I appeal to Labour, to the workers of this land, to get inside the Church and capture it. The Founder of the Christian Church was a working man. By His spotless life He gave us an example, and because of His life our lives can be strengthened. I believe that with all my heart, and I appeal to you not to stand outside the Church and pitch stones at us because we are not perfect, but to come in and help to bring the Church to a right understanding. I know the failings of the Church. Maybe a large number inside the Church are on the side of privilege and power, but, in spite of that, I am going to stop inside, unless I am turned out, because I believe that the revolution must be moral and spiritual while having regard to the material needs of our fellow-men.

*At Battersea Free Church (Latchmere Baths).*

**Councillor Rev. A. G. PRICHARD**  
 (Battersea Labour Party)

As a Christian Minister and as a Labour Member of the Battersea Borough Council, it was with great joy I responded to the request to preside at this meeting. I am known in

Battersea as a Christian man and one who stands for real Christianity. When I say real Christianity I mean that we here stand for a Christianity which would not starve the poor, but which stands for the "under dog" at all times and under all circumstances; standing for the principles of the Prince of Peace, whether popular or unpopular: and remembering that the Founder and Father of our social religion was a working man. If He were on earth now He would spend His night in London at the Casual Ward. He had "nowhere to lay His head."

Real Labour and real Christianity are one. Let it be understood that while in the Labour Party there is no agreed basis of religion, there are real Christians in it who profess no religion at all. Many of the most prominent Labour Leaders are real Christians. The late Keir Hardie was one. He was never afraid to stand up in a Labour meeting and say that he was a converted man and that he owed everything to Jesus Christ.

A Christian who is always ready to stand by the poor and oppressed, who is prepared to stand up in any assembly and say that he counts the Lord Jesus Christ as his personal Friend, Master, and Saviour, is indeed helping to bring His Kingdom on earth. I earnestly hope that this meeting will be the means of constraining other members of our Party to see that they get right in their relationship with the Lord Jesus Christ.

**Councillor C. H. YOUNG**  
 (Battersea Labour Party).

I consented to the invitation to take part in this meeting because I felt convinced of the deep vital need for a union between Labour and the Christian Church. I once heard the late Keir Hardie say at a meeting in Liverpool: "Socialism is putting a soul into politics." I believe that remark to be true. I believe, however, that in order to find its counterpart we ought to say that Christianity must put a soul into the Labour Movement. He went on to say that religion indeed has to put a soul into the Labour Movement. I want to see a form of religion which will appeal to the people's hearts, one which stands for human brotherhood, the puri-

fying of the lives of the people, and for making life cleaner, purer, healthier, and stronger.

### **"The Carpenter."**

I am a Labour Councillor and an Organiser of the Carpenter's Trade Union. Jesus Christ was not a Trade Union Organiser, but He was a carpenter, and one whose life was devoted to the uplifting and ennobling of the poor. Jesus Christ was always ready to meet people who came with doubts and difficulties, but the people He couldn't stand were the Scribes and Pharisees. There are some of these sort of people about now, people who consider they know much more than anyone else. We have even got some of them in the Labour Movement.

Socialism is a movement with many gates. At one gate there are those who enter because of economic necessity; at other gates enter those of artistic and scientific temperament, and those of Christian and ethical spirit. It is all the same movement, nevertheless. Those of us who have entered the Labour Movement because of the Christian ideals within us, want to help others to see the things of spiritual beauty which we see.

### **We Must Become Christians.**

In my opinion, the prime duty of the Labour Movement is to capture the Church. We talk about capturing Parliament, and we shall capture it soon, but the Church is a far greater institution than Parliament. With all its imperfections and inconsistencies, it is still the greatest institution on earth. True, the Church has been a buttress for "things as they are" and for "the powers that be," but the Spirit of Christ is still speaking, and it is for us to carry on His message. If we can capture the Church we shall, as a Movement, be invincible. But before we can capture the Church we must first of all become Christians ourselves.

I am never ashamed to confess that I try to follow the apostle of old. I am not ashamed to own my Lord, and whenever possible I endeavour to show that there is some sincerity and value in the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, "Who came not that we should perish, but that we should have life, and have it more abundantly."

## F. HERBERT STEAD, M.A.

(Warden of Browning Settlement, 1894-1921).

I am heartily glad to be here to-night. I have been in Battersea before, I have been in Labour circles before, but I have never heard such a voice from Battersea Labour as from the speaker who has just finished. It is symptomatic of the advance that has been made.

The Labour Movement in Religion is perhaps not quite so familiar to your ears as the general Labour Movement. The Labour Movement is very much larger than the Labour Party. Long before there was a Labour Party in this country there was a Labour Movement, and the Labour Party is only a recent phase of the Labour Movement; but the Labour Movement in general is a vastly greater thing.

### **The Progress of the Years.**

I think it does us all good when we glance back over the wonderful triumph of that Labour Movement in modern times, that steady uprise of the workers of the world. We recall the first great step—the emancipation of Labour, the freeing of the worker, black or white, from chattel slavery. We cannot remember this achievement in the British Empire, but we can remember it in the United States of America and other portions of the globe. We trace the forward movement from the first formation of Trade Unions to the great National Trade Unions and International Federations that prevail to-day. Then came that protective legislation—as leader at the head of which we always remember the honoured name of that Tory aristocrat, Lord Shaftesbury. We see to-day the great world convention of the Labour Department of the League of Nations. Great indeed has been the progress.

Again, in Education, we remember how the working classes of this country once had little better than a very imperfect Sunday School. Then came the National Schools, and the system has gradually developed until it is universal, together with the education provided by the W.E.A. and various other similar bodies. There are great fields yet to be acquired in that direction.

We have now the Labour Movement in Art, the Labour Movement in Journalism, but the Labour Movement in

Religion is greater than all these phases. The Labour Movement in Religion is the Labour Movement that has become conscious of itself, aware of its meaning and of its place in the general order. The Labour Movement in Religion has found, perhaps, its clearest organ in the institution known as Labour Weeks.

### **Labour Weeks.**

The first Labour Week of which I know anything was in 1910. From the first year that we began work in Walworth we kept Labour Day or Labour Sunday as a religious festival, and addresses were generally given by Labour Leaders. But in 1910 we extended Labour Day into a Labour Week. We had seven to ten meetings addressed by well-known Labour Leaders. They were increasingly successful as the years went by. They were addressed by Labour Members of Parliament who made their appeal for Personal Religion first of all to the workers of London, and then, as the movement reverberated around the world, to the workers of the world. The speakers at these meetings were among the very foremost leaders of British Labour. These Labour Weeks were held year after year until the war. After the war the movement was continued in the International Conference on Labour and Religion. There was also a Labour Week in North Camberwell organised by Mr. C. G. Ammon. There was a Labour Week in Cardiff, at which Mr. Keir Hardie, the ever-lamented Labour Evangelist, was the chief speaker, and there was also a Labour Week in Glasgow.

The Labour Weeks have been the spontaneous expression of the Soul of Labour. The speakers, representing any number of denominations, every one of them with a clear-cut individuality of his own, have yet combined to express the inner meaning of the Labour Movement, and they expressed it by declaring that it was essentially religious. Their testimony is of far more weight than we realise. The message of Labour Weeks at Browning Hall have gone round the world in nine different languages—English, Danish, Finnish, Spanish, German, Dutch, Arabic, Indian vernacular, and Bulgarian. Just at the beginning of the year I received this volume in Finnish, two-thirds being composed of translations from the speeches of the representatives of British

Labour and Continental Labour in the Conference I have referred to, held in 1919. Only the other day I received this book published in Bulgarian, and it contains seven Labour Week speeches delivered in Browning Hall by the foremost leaders of British Labour, beginning with Keir Hardie and ending up with Arthur Henderson. These are just examples of how the message has gone round the world.

### **Has the Labour Movement Lost its Soul?**

I often have enquiries from different parts asking me whether the British Labour Movement can be true to these high ideals as expressed and translated and circulated round the world. Men have written to me and said: "Has not the heroic dream of British Labour gone? Has not the British Labour Movement lost its soul? Has it not become materialised, sordid, and secular?" Well, I have very great pleasure in referring them to the simple conjunction of personalities that began, and up to the present guide, the course of British Labour in the British House of Commons. We all have had our minds recently directed to that great and beautiful soul, my own dearly beloved friend, Thomas Burt. He was the first Labour (though Liberal) member of the House of Commons. He was the universally revered and esteemed leader of the Northumberland Miners. They adored him. They hung upon his very words. He became also "Father of the House of Commons," Right Honourable, and Privy Councillor. I have received from his son his funeral card, a simple card with not a word of his position in the State, not a word as to his position in the Labour world, no title, only these simple words, "In loving memory of Thomas, beloved husband of Mary Burt." The beautiful humility of the man's soul seemed to have lived on after his death. He was regarded everywhere by all classes and all parties as a man of the finest Christian type.

But what about modern times? I referred my enquirers to the two most recent accessions to the Labour Party in the House of Commons. I told them of Mr. Ammon, the organiser of a Labour Week in North Camberwell, who I heard last night make a marvellous confession of his devotion to Jesus Christ and his devotion to the Church despite all its defects. But the very latest recruit to the Labour Party in the House of Commons might almost lead me to

believe that the spirit of the first Labour Member had become reincarnated in the last. My dear friends, George Banton and Thomas Burt were very different; one, Thomas Burt, a Northumbrian, and George Banton, a Leicestershire man to the tips of his fingers. But both have a good deal in common. Both are amongst the most unassuming men I have ever known. Both of them possess what is a very rare thing in politics, namely, humility. Both of them have an exceedingly kindly manner. Their sympathy takes you to their heart at once. But when principle is at stake both men are like adamant. I speak of them in the present tense. I cannot speak of Thomas Burt as dead. Both of these men, friends of mine, are universally esteemed, respected, and loved in their respective constituencies. I believe it was the character of George Banton that carried him to the head of the poll.

### **"The Fellowship of Followers."**

Labour Weeks have been the means wherein the Soul of Labour has found its expression, and twenty-five of the foremost Labour Members of the British House of Commons who took part in the Labour Weeks, have spontaneously joined the Fellowship of Followers of Christ. They have heard that great word of the Master: "If anyone would come after He, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me," and meaning so to follow Him they have enrolled themselves in this Fellowship.

I would ask anyone here who has not yet decided his life, to heed the call with these, the foremost guides and trustees of British Labour, who have humbled themselves to follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

### **Alderman GEORGE BANTON, M.P. for East Leicester.**

My old friend Mr. Stead, in eulogising me so much, has made it very difficult for me to speak. But I have much to thank him for. For in my younger days I was very anxious to discover the Truth, and went from place to place and from Church to Church in search of it. Eventually I met Mr. Stead, and I had to confess to him that I could not

honestly believe the things which the ordinary Christian had to conform to. But he said, "Do you believe in the teachings of Christ? If you do, never mind these other things. What do you think of the Sermon on the Mount?" Here we found common ground, and I could agree with Mr. Stead when he said that these words of Christ constituted the basis of life. In that way I got into the Church. I based my belief on the words and teachings of Christ, and put aside all the doctrines and dogmas of the Church.

### **The Inspiration which Christ Gives.**

I have read to-day a sermon by the Bishop of London, and he deplores the empty churches. He laments the fact that the young men are not taking up work in the Church. He then goes on to appeal to men to understand what the Christian message really is. That is the appeal that we also make. We want men to understand that there is something which Christ gives which cannot be got elsewhere, and that there is something in themselves and that something must respond to the best in others.

I believe that the inspiration of the Labour Movement comes from Christ. The men and women who have fought for righteousness have only been able to do it because they have been inspired by the Spirit of Christ. These men and women have held aloft the greatest ideal, and they have left this ideal for us to carry aloft for them. They have done much that we must be thankful for.

I believe that there are many signs now that the Church is being converted. The Church to-day is passing from one phase to another, and there is great need for that. I have often thought that it would be a good thing for every minister if, instead of going to Universities and Colleges for training, that he should be unemployed and suffer hardship, scorn, and contumely. This would be better training for Christian ministry than going to Colleges.

### **The Greatness of our Cause.**

Some of the things which Mr. Stead has said of me, I really must disclaim. I have won no victory; it is the things I have fought and stood for that won. I know what the life of the poverty-stricken people of Leicester is like. The people of Leicester know that I have been through it.

I am not a writer, I am not a Parliamentarian, nor a good speaker. But when I speak, I speak of the things of which I know. I spoke in the debate on Old-Age Pensions because I know of the hardships of the old people, and because I believe that the Pension should be such that would allow them to live decently and respectably in their declining years. I was astounded at what was said on the other side, and was surprised at the way in which it was suggested we should treat our fathers and mothers. I remembered that it was an old injunction that we should honour our fathers and mothers, and I know that the Labour Party intend to treat them properly, and that so long as they are treated with contempt we are not in the way of progress.

It is the establishment of the Kingdom of God that we should be working for. We should keep the Kingdom of God uppermost in our minds. When we think of the progress that has been made during the last 100 years, we realise that the Kingdom of God is coming, coming slowly, but surely. The conditions in industry 100 years ago were, compared with conditions to-day, simply appalling and too horrible for words. I was reading of the conditions in the mining industry in 1832 only the other day, and I shall not easily forget what I read. Just at that time there was a great fight on for the emancipation of the slaves and the abolition of slavery abroad, yet there were in this country children working in the mines at the age of five. Thank God for the efforts of men who have sought to remedy these conditions and have to a certain extent succeeded. I say that those who have fought for better conditions have left a mark of what is true religion. How far are you prepared to work and suffer for the right? I believe that the man who will wholly sacrifice himself for the right will have the peace and guidance of God. He is the great Judge and will always judge us righteously.

### **The Power of Vision.**

Keir Hardie was one of these men. He was a saint. He was a man of vision, and the Divine vision which he possessed dominated his life. The war broke his heart. He hated war. The Labour Movement was split during the war. Some were against their country and against all war. The Church was also split, though the number in the Church

against the war were comparatively few. Personally I am against all war. Force is no remedy; love is the all-conquering force. If I had never believed in a God, my experience during the war would have taught me to do so. There is a power that can shield and guard, and I believed—though it may seem foolish to some—that I was so shielded and guarded. At one time I was the most unpatriotic man in Leicester, and now I am Leicester's M.P. There has evidently been a change of thought. Men are beginning to realise what a crime it is to kill. I believe that all killing is murder, and I believe that if the Church was to take that stand it would gain enormously in strength.

### **"Suffer Little Children."**

The other day we were discussing at the House of Commons the possibility of increasing the allowances to the unemployed. Two shillings a week for the children would be much more helpful than one. We must stand by the children. Jesus said: "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." Christ welcomed the children. We as a nation are not welcoming them to-day. We are starving them. In Leicester from 13 elementary schools the children averaged 4 inches shorter and over 1 stone lighter than those in the secondary schools. Look at that crowd in the House of Commons, and you cannot help but draw comparison that they are well-fed, and have been well-educated, and most of them had their chance as children at the age of 13. We do not envy them. They have had that which they ought to have, and which every child ought to have. The Labour Party is fighting for the children, that they may have their full chance to develop physically, mentally, and morally. I sometimes think that machines are a curse. It is, at any rate, a curse to put boys and girls on to working machines day in and day out. How can a young life develop as it should when occupied in such monotonous and degrading work? I sometimes think that we may have to go back to the time when the artisan will again take a share in his work, for what is needed is that man should be given an opportunity of taking a pride in his work.

### **A Dream of the Future.**

This may be a dream, but it is a picture and a possibility;

and it would, at any rate, make our work a pleasure and not a drudgery. It is this: Let us have a proper division of the nation's work. Let us so arrange our essential industries that we can make ships in the winter and work in the fields in the summer. Production for use and not for profit. You cannot conceive of profit-making in the Kingdom of God. If you have a system built upon self-interest, and if you adopt that as your principle, you will not bring the Kingdom of God on earth. But if you believe in the alternative—that society can be organised for the benefit of all, where production will be for use and not for profit—it will eventually come, no matter how far off it may seem at the moment. I pray every morning that this may come; believing in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man, and believing that the Kingdom of God is surely coming.

It is good to look back at the wonderful progress which has been made. "The wheels of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small." We can therefore say with Browning that "the best is yet to be," if we are inspired and animated by the great Christian motive.

Read your experiences aright, read Christ, understand Christ, do not think that there is no other way than your own.

"Seize upon truth, where'er 'tis found  
 Amongst your friends, your enemies, your foes :  
 And question all : on heathen ground  
 The flower is divined where'er it grows."

Seek for that hard fact, and in the seeking you are giving yourselves.

*At Edmonton Wesleyan Central Hall.*

### H. H. ELVIN

(Secretary National Union of Clerks ; Labour Candidate for Bath).

Reference was made in our prayer to-night to the division that exists between the Church and the masses ; this division also exists between organised Christianity and organised

Labour, and that division seems to be getting wider instead of decreasing. This is one of the effects of the war.

### **The Church's Responsibility.**

No doubt many of you, in common with most people, declared that the war was going to have a great influence upon the mass of the people engaged in the great struggle; that a new light would come, that after the war a new era would be begun, and that men and women would turn to the light of truth rather than to the darkness of error. Unfortunately the expectations held out to us in those days, so far as I can see, have not been realised. Now what is the reason for that? I think it is important that we should not shirk the facts, however disagreeable they appear to be, for it is only when we are able to discover the cause that we are able to find the remedy. I think it must be admitted that the Churches are very much to blame for the position in which we find ourselves. The Churches have been silent on matters of great moment. I refer to the almost universal betrayal of the ex-Service men, to the lack of decent housing accommodation, and to the large number of men and women unemployed. Further, to-day, as many of you know, the engineering lock-out, which started a few weeks ago, is being extended, and that by to-morrow morning about another 200,000 men will be locked out. Yet we find that during the past weeks, although it was expected that this calamity would fall upon industry, the Churches have been silent as to the issues involved. In spite of the fact that we have unemployment in the land with its resultant misery, there is, on the other hand, an arrogant display of luxury on the part of a certain section of the community.

The workers, seeing these things, and hearing those who stand up week by week to declare what has been revealed to them as the message of the Most High concerning the problems of modern times, make no mention of these matters of moment, ask themselves whether there is anything in Christianity for them. Are we not epistles read and known by all men?

### **Christ and Labour.**

The workers have learnt something of the teaching of Jesus Christ, the principles of justice and truth, and they

see that these principles are not paramount in our lives. Again we ask ourselves, Can they look to Christianity as a way out of the difficulties in which they find themselves, and out of the troubles by which they are set on every hand?

Concurrently with this increasing gap between the workers and the Church there has been a growing movement in two directions—a movement which is to be found within the Labour forces and also in the Churches. This will be realised from the speeches of those who are leaders of organised Labour, declaring that whilst it may be thought to be right to give up the Churches of the Christ, it is undoubtedly wrong to give up the Christ of the Churches. *So we have the remarkable spectacle of men and women in the Labour Movement who accept Christ as the dynamic force of their lives, yet feeling that the Churches are not their spiritual homes.*

### **Labour and the Church.**

Then there is the movement within the Churches. A few men and women are conscious that the teachings of Christ should be applied to the problems that are vitally affecting the everyday life of this land, and that the Churches have a duty to assist in the uplift of all those who belong to the great family of the human race. When we are in Church we pray, "Our Father Who art in heaven," yet while we may be united in that prayer within the Church, outside many who belong to that great family are treated as outcasts instead of brothers and sisters. It is because of this that these few earnest-souled men and women are doing all they can to bring home to each member of the Church his responsibility, not only to himself, but to the whole community. In this direction we owe a great deal to the movement which was started some years ago at Browning Hall by Mr. F. Herbert Stead, and under whose auspices this meeting is being held to-night, and also, of later years, to the Industrial Christian Fellowship. The former and pioneer movement being undenominational, while the latter is a Church of England organisation, though membership is not restricted to that body.

### **The Charter of Democracy.**

It may be that the Christianity of the New Testament is different from the Christianity of the Churches, and that

Labour may see antagonism between Christ and His Church. Yet the religion of Jesus should be the stabilising influence of the world, and our aim should be to show that there is a close affinity between organised Christianity on the one hand and organised Labour on the other, and to endeavour to bring these two great movements closer together. Thus we shall hasten the day when the Kingdom of God will be brought nearer to its full realisation upon this earth. What I desire to emphasise specially to-night is that the Christianity of the New Testament is the Charter of Democracy. Labour's demands can be divided under three main heads : (1) A Living Wage, (2) Ample Leisure, (3) A Full Life.

What do we mean by a living wage? In my opinion a living wage is an income sufficient to secure all necessary material comforts and participation in the benefits of mankind derived from the skill of others. That minimum living wage every human being is entitled to, and every person who has not that living wage is being robbed of his right.

### **The Fruits of Poverty.**

In normal times we were told that about 30 per cent. of the population was struggling against perpetual poverty, and that percentage, I fear, looks like being increased as the result of happenings in the industrial world during the past two years. This struggle is seen in overcrowding, the source of ill-health and disease; and in under-feeding, which means stunted bodies, undeveloped minds, and wasted lives. All this is a waste of precious material, a loss to the State, a loss to humanity. Remember, that if the worker who is married has not a wage sufficient to provide for his material comforts, those who are dependent on him—the poor and defenceless children—are called upon to suffer with him. Read the reports on the health of children attending our elementary schools : 25 per cent. are anaemic, 8 per cent. suffer from heart disease, 45 per cent. are subject to nose and throat trouble, and 66 per cent. have abnormalities or defects of the ear. One out of every five children who see the light of day return to the great beyond before their first birthday is reached; or, in other words, 400 die every day whose death is preventable.

These outcrops of our social system are largely due to the fact that thousands in our midst are not in receipt of a living wage. Christianity is strong in condemnation of such a state of affairs, and emphasises again and again that "the labourer is worthy of his hire," or, more strictly, his reward.

### **Leisure and Life.**

Then there is the question of Leisure. Recreation is just as necessary to an individual as it is to a machine. There is an old proverb with which we are familiar : " All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." And Christianity, in its own way, is equally emphatic. Besides its insistence upon one day's rest in seven, it declares "there is a time to dance." There is certainly a time to work, but it is equally true there must be a time to re-create. One of the most regrettable of recent facts is the employers' evident desire to lengthen the working week.

And now may I just refer to the other point, namely, that of Life. There are many people who assume that the Labour Movement is absolutely materialistic in its basis, that all it is concerned about is money, that it has no ideals, no thought for other things. This is pure assumption. The Labour Movement has declared many times that the pursuit of material things alone will not be for the complete benefit of the workers; and that the chief aim of work should not be to accumulate wealth, but to secure the necessities of life, and leave all surplus time for the development of the Higher Life. The worker wants to have the opportunity for fellowship, to have the time to develop himself as a whole man, and to have the leisure and opportunity to render service to the community. "Man cannot live by bread alone," but he needs bread to sustain his body in order that he may be able to render service to his fellows.

### **"Fellowship is Life."**

Work can become an instrument of isolation, like the hermit who dwarfs the world into a little cell. Christianity declares with no uncertain note that the man who lives and works for himself loses the spirit of life (the spirit of co-operation and companionship are life); that the person who voluntarily gives himself up to a life of work for material gain robs himself of life, and the person who compels another

to a life of toil robs that person of life. "Every man," says the Book, "should enjoy the good of all his labour; it is the gift of God." And work to-day should be the means of life and not an instrument of living death.

### The Great Dynamic.

That these things have not been realised, is because those who profess to be followers of Jesus Christ have not caught the fulness of His Spirit and are not living His life on this earth. If they were, we should not have the inequalities that are existing to-day in the industrial world. We are all equal in the sight of God. The only difference between us is that some have greater responsibilities than others. By His Grace we have been given gifts, and the more gifts we have the greater our responsibility. I want to make a very special appeal, not only to those in the Labour Party, but to those in the Churches. *Jesus Christ is the greatest Dynamic the world has ever known.* It is not His fault if the Churches have deserted Him, and if the Churches have deserted Him that is no reason why we should. The light is breaking on the horizon, it is getting brighter and brighter, and His light shines in its fulness so that we who are children of the Light shall have His truth revealed to us. And it seems to me that the Churches are really beginning to see this Light and Truth, and I hope that one of the results of meetings of this sort will be the closer drawing together of organised Christianity and organised Labour. If these two great forces of the world could be united, then the revolution of which many are thinking and many are speaking, and of which many are afraid and need not be afraid, will come. A New Jerusalem will be ushered in, where war will be no more.

*At Whitefield's Tabernacle, Tottenham Court Road.*

**J. GILBERT DALE**

(North St. Pancras Labour Party).

For the few moments I have to speak I want to draw attention to the great estrangement that exists between the Church and the workers. No one can deny that this estrangement exists, and it is just as well for a moment or

two to see how far this estrangement has gone. Somebody said the other day that not more than 10 per cent. of the people of the country attended a place of worship. Examine each congregation, and you will find that as a rule there will only be one man to three women in the congregation, and that means only 3 per cent. of the men of this country attend a place of worship, and of that 3 per cent. there will not be, I fear, more than 1 per cent. working class. To those of us who are in the Churches that is a serious fact, and I wish to ask, " Why this estrangement? "

### **The Great Estrangement.**

I have been in the Church all my life, and as a Wesleyan local preacher for over thirty years can claim to know something about the Churches. I also claim to know something about the Labour Movement, having been very many years a Labour candidate and a Socialist. In asking this question, " Why this estrangement? " I want to point out that there is hardly a Labour leader to-day who either is, or has not been during his life, actively engaged in Church work. Many of them, I am glad to say, are still in the Church. Why have some left and grown cold? That is the question to be answered, because before the remedy can be applied the cause must be found.

I submit that there is far more Religion in the Labour Movement than in any other political movement. At the back of the Labour Movement there are Religious Ideals. I know of two ladies, one a professing Christian, the other calls herself an agnostic. They are both in a Women's Section of a Labour Party. The agnostic, anyway, certainly possesses the Christian spirit, and is living, though she knows it not, a Christian life.

Why, then, this great estrangement? The workers in the Labour Movement feel that the poverty and the death, the slums and the misery that they see around them, are contrary to the Christ spirit as revealed in the New Testament. They feel that if the Churches had been true to Jesus Christ and followed out His teachings, all these implications—poverty, slums, starvation and misery—would have been wiped out long ago. Although numbers of men in the Labour Movement have left the Churches, I believe they have carried away with them the spirit of Jesus Christ and

His teaching. But they say that the Churches have not only failed to solve the problem of poverty; they say they have not even tried to solve it. It is no use the Church saying to them, "This problem has no solution." They know too much about economics to believe that. If you told them that this problem was theirs and not for the Churches to deal with, they would justly retort that it is our selfishness that has brought these things about. They see too often in the Churches selfishness, and they ask how it is they have been so long silent in face of the glaring facts that some men are allowed to draw an income of thousands a year while, on the other hand, babies are crying for food. In our present social system of production for profit, this problem of poverty cannot be successfully dealt with. The Church ought to be in the forefront of the fight for the remedying of these wrongs which the world has groaned under for so long.

### **Come Back Into the Church !**

I want to turn to the other side for a minute or two. There are people here who are not in the Churches, some who have not merely left but have become antagonistic towards them. Suppose we of the Labour Movement had achieved all our programme and ideals: what of the weaknesses of which man is capable? It is only through Christ in God that these can be remedied, so I ask you, who are in the Labour Movement but outside the Churches, to come back into the Church. You stand in need of spiritual guidance.

Where is the source of the Labour Movement's ideals? These ideals and inspirations can be traced back to the Churches, and have come through men who have left the Churches and have joined the Labour Movement.

### **Come to the Cross !**

"One is your Master, even Christ." Believe me, if this world is to be saved and the mass of the people are to be lifted up, it will only be by infusing into the people the Spirit of Christ. Men are realising that in order to raise their fellows they must be prepared themselves to come to the Cross and be crucified.

I close with this. The other day in London there was an eminent scientist lecturing to some slum boys on the theory

of evolution, and he traced man right back through millions and millions of years. He traced man back to that very first point, and then he said, solemnly to the boys, "And now, boys, having taken you back so far, I can take you no farther; I bring you to a closed door." A little fellow in the audience said, "Please, sir, is God behind that door?" We in the Churches and a large number of us in the Labour Movement believe He is. We want to see the Churches raise the teachings of Jesus Christ and put them before the teachings of creeds and dogmas. Then, I say, we shall make an end of war, and we shall be able to make the League of Nations a league of humanity and a real league of peoples. We shall then welcome the day when all the nations of the world will have promised to serve and to be united in Jesus Christ.

### **W. CARTER**

(National Union of Railwaymen; East Leyton Labour Party).

With Mr. Dale, I wish to say that I am pleased to be here to speak. I would be much more pleased to be in the audience. I said just before I left home that I thought in the future I would refuse to accept invitations similar to this because I am so full of work I can hardly spare the time to give the subject the justice that I would like to.

#### **"My Saviour and Leader."**

We in the Labour Movement have to work. Some people think we get our money for nothing. For a number of years it has been work and hard work, and it is most difficult for me to be able to satisfy myself, but for all that I am always pleased to stand up and to speak the truth that is within me, telling of Jesus as my Saviour and my Leader, one Who I am not ashamed to declare that I have tried to serve from my youth upwards. I am the son of a local preacher. My father tried to lead me in the way of preaching. I have always allied myself with the Church. I have been a Wesleyan all my life. I am still one, and I am not ashamed of it. I am in the Labour Movement because I believe that it has the ways and means of bringing Jesus Christ's teachings and doctrines to our fellow men.

## The Early Christian Gospel.

Some people tell us that we Labour men are too extreme. We want to turn the world upside down, because we want to change the system that at present exists. May I turn your attention for a few minutes to the early Christian years after Jesus had left this earth? You remember that His disciples had instructions to go forth and preach the Gospel. They went forth and preached a doctrine which was contrary to the laws of Moses. Moses said: "Thou shalt not do this and thou shalt not do the other." But the Apostles taught "Thou shalt do unto others as you would they should do unto you," "Return good for evil," "Love one another," "Turn the world upside down," "The system must be changed because it is wrong." Because Christ said similar things they crucified Him. His followers were stoned and thrown into the lion's den. They believed that the new system would bring happiness and joy into the lives of the people, and therefore they went forth and preached this new doctrine, "Love their neighbours as themselves."

What a change there would be in this world if we all thought the other fellow ought to have as much wages as we were receiving—if we all thought that we were entitled to £10,000 a year and the other fellow at the bottom getting 26s. per week was entitled to have the good things of this life as well. What a change there would be! That is one of the things we want to consider. You read your Bible and you know also the parable of the good Samaritan. You know what he did and how he helped and so forth. "Go thou and do likewise."

### "For Conscience Sake."

Some of us have a conscience. Others don't seem to have one, or it seems to work as they desire it to work. Conscience is something within that tells us when we are doing right or wrong; it is not for our convenience. It should be our guide all through life. Politically, yes; in business, yes; though men say they cannot serve Christ in business, I do not believe it. I believe Christ can be served in business, in the home and at play. Men have suffered for conscience sake, believing in the principles laid down in the name of Jesus Christ. In the early religious movement men and women were persecuted, put to death. Men in the early

Trade Union movement were also persecuted. Methodist local preachers also suffered for conscience sake. They believed that the teachings of Jesus Christ should be interpreted, when He said "Love one another," each man and woman are equal in the sight of God, no matter whether they are rich or poor, whether they are kings or queens.

I can remember when I first came to London, the Christian Churches were full to overflowing. I was an ordinary railway porter, and it was said they did not want working men in the Church; but I kept going because I believed in Jesus Christ. Others stayed away. If men and women in the world are to be won to truth and righteousness it can only be through the teachings of Jesus Christ being put into actual practice.

### **"The New Jerusalem."**

And we in the Labour Movement are out to try and put them into practice, and how do we go about it? Better housing—that is what we want for the people. There are thousands of families living in one room. How can people live decent, healthy, religious, Christian lives under such conditions? I am strong in urging a better housing policy. The Lord's Prayer is quoted in Churches and Chapels, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." Not wait till we get to Heaven before we do the things. "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth." Make Heaven on earth, a New Jerusalem, a New London. The Israelites, when the old prophet was speaking of a New Jerusalem, had been in bondage for seventy years, and when they were released He said, "Put away your feasting and fasting and build a new city." It shall be a city of truth, and there shall still be old men and women with a staff in their hands and children, boys and girls, playing, skipping, and music and dancing for the kiddies. The New Jerusalem here—this is where it ought to be.

### **The Faith of Followers.**

The Labour Movement is interpreting the teachings of Jesus Christ and is trying to weave them, not only into the whole life of this country but in other lands as well. "Be ye doers of the Word." Don't listen all the time, but be up and doing. We are trying to get the principles of

" Love one another " and " Bear ye one another's burdens " applied in the State. Some of you think the Church has failed, others that the Labour Party has missed its opportunity. I am not one of those who shut his eyes to facts. We are not perfect in the Labour Movement. What if the Church has failed, the failure or success should not affect the faith of the followers of Jesus Christ—and this applies also to the Labour Movement. Faith is the thing we need. We may fail or we may succeed but the truth stands, and is none the less true. Now the Browning Settlement is trying to bring together the religious and the Labour movements—trying to bring about a better set of men and women —doing unto others as they would they should be done unto. Let us all put this into practice, and we shall get nearer to the teachings of Jesus Christ than we are at present. We shall be nearer to the Economic New Age.

### **JACK LAWSON, M.P.**

for Chester-le-Street (Miners' Federation of Great Britain).

I am pleased to be here as a worker, as one who has worked for twenty years with the miners. And I am pleased to testify to the work of the Church and to the benefits that the workers have derived from the organised Church in the district from which I come. We hear a good deal from the other side, and a good deal of the criticism is true, and we must face facts. Labour, however, owes a great deal to the Founder of Christianity. Great is the debt the workers owe to Jesus, and great is the love which they bear towards Him. Tested by theological or ecclesiastical standards, the workers may seem—like other classes—to fall far short of the desired standard; but to those who come from the ranks of the toilers there is no doubt about the manner in which Jesus is enshrined in their hearts. All that is best in us, and all the driving force that is of lasting good in the work of our organisation comes from the Founder of Democracy.

### **Christ the Great Uplifter.**

He stood for " the man who does not count." He stood for " the nobodies," and to anyone who was down He came

as an Uplifter. From His mouth was heard for the first time, in clear and distinct terms, the assertion that the outcast, the broken, and the oppressed had an equal value in the eyes of the Creator with the great and powerful. Christ gave the ordinary man and woman a new dignity which was bound to find its reflex in the social world. There have been times when Christianity has seemed to ignore this new value which Jesus gave to the "nobodies," but, nevertheless, the time has always come round when the great truth has been reasserted that all men—however insignificant, however depraved—bear the Divine stamp. And not only bear the Divine stamp, but that all possess something of the Divine in their innermost souls and counted in God's eyes as being "of more value than many sparrows."

Labour owes its origin to this new conception of men and women, and the working-class movement of to-day owes most of the dignity it possesses to this teaching of Jesus than to any other force. Labour stands for this Christian idea of value, and seeks to work out the expression of this great principle in the social and political life of to-day. It stands for the full development of all the God-given material forces in the interests of all mankind, so that Character, Personality, and the Soul of man may be wooed, encouraged and developed.

### **"The Great Law of Life."**

I come from a part of the country where the housing and general conditions of the people are most terrible. Thousands of ignorant people are living under very grim circumstances. My parents brought up a family of ten, and my father, after having worked for sixty years in the mines, is as rich to-day as when he started. Yet this same mining area has produced millionaires. This same part of the country has also produced, in recent years, men who were full of the Spirit of Jesus. They were members of Church and Chapel, local preachers, and the like—but what has been their lot? Many of them have been sent to prison and hunted from the district because they refused to sacrifice their principles. These men had learnt the great Law of Life.

Now it is no use blaming the Churches when the people will not help themselves. Jesus gave a value to the average

man, woman and child, and if we count ourselves as " nobodies " it is our estimate of ourselves and not His. He taught us that we were to reckon ourselves as worth something, and I believe that it is the object of the Labour Movement to seek to bring about such conditions that will enable Personality, Character, and Individuality to realise this full value which Jesus has set upon each one of us. Not for its own sake does the Labour Movement seek the establishment of a new Social Order, but for the sake of all. Enough trouble has been caused by the lust for power. The Pyramids were founded on human lives. Napoleon's dreams of Empire, which resulted in endless wars, give us quite enough evidence that mere aspiration for power and material aggrandisement is a wrong and mischievous spirit.

### **The Kingdom of the Soul.**

The great thing, the living thing, the only thing that matters, is the Kingdom of the Soul. Apply that to our every-day life. Here we have to-day millions of men and women seeking work. The mining areas are really pathetic, really terrible; but, although in this condition, we realise that material things are not the only things to work for. Some of our men are devoting a great deal of their time to the teaching of others, and especially to the teaching of the children. Infinite is their capacity for tenderness, mercy, and fellowship. What can surpass the beauty of the tenderness of the strong man to the prattling babe, or the gentle hand that smooths our path? These are the things which sustain and drive us in life, and which help us to march through the night or work through the grey day. Labour sees the soul of the child, and realises that the drawing forth of that soul is a matter of supreme importance. It is prepared to stand for the children, come what may. This is a matter of which I, personally, am very proud; and it augurs well for the future of our country.

### **" No More War."**

There is another thing which Labour stands for and which I now want to emphasise. This, I believe, is another one of Labour's " planks " which is an outcome of its close association with the teachings of Christ. It is that the dependence on physical force for the settling of International

disputes is not only wrong, but futile, and must be once and for all abolished. Even now, some people are talking of the next war, and a great deal of study and research is still being made by chemists and scientists for the discovery of methods for the wholesale destruction of human life. We must, therefore, on the other hand, organise all the spiritual and political forces which are against war; we must appeal to tenderness, love and compassion which lies in the heart of the people; we must endeavour to get the Church and the Labour Movement to march together and concentrate its united force in the cause of Peace, so that calamity shall be averted.

### **The Great Driving Force.**

Sometimes theology and ecclesiasticism may seem to have overlooked the great fundamental revelation of Jesus, that wherever man is found there is also found a soul that is touched with the Divine, but always the truth emerged again. So great was this new discovery, so blinding was its vision, and so powerful was its driving force, that fishermen and outcasts were able to triumph over the combined forces of Empires. When Empires cease to exist, and when all that is left of its rulers is to be found in dusty tombs; and when only rows of ruined buildings remain to mark where Empires and Empire cities existed—the life and teaching of Jesus will still be read and His Kingdom will still remain.

I would sooner rely on reason than on physical force, but much sooner would I rely on Christ's human estimate of the value of men and women. I would rather accept his view of man, and His faith in the ultimate victory of morals, than I would depend on all the organised systems of man. And if the dreams and aspirations of the worker mean anything at all, ultimately they mean that the powers of mind and soul shall attain their true value and fullest freedom. Any theory of society which does not base itself on the recognition of all sides of men, must and ought ultimately to fail.

### **Join with the Church !**

Jesus challenged the assumption that material was supreme, and He set forth this new value on our brothers and sisters. So I would appeal to you all to remember what we owe to Jesus, and I would ask all my fellow-workers to

ally themselves to a Christian Church. I would ask them all to put themselves into line with the great spiritual forces that are undoubtedly there, for then shall we achieve large ideals.

**MORGAN JONES, M.P.  
for Caerphilly (I.L.P.).**

I am glad to be here to-night to join with you in your May Day Celebrations, and to do whatever I can to help forward the Movement. Some of us who belong to the Labour Movement have been speaking at various places during the past week, and we have one purpose chiefly in view, and it is to remind the people of the country that the first days of the Springtime are here. Spring comes after Winter, after the time of death, the time for gathering great forces together in preparation for the new outburst of life that we find everywhere. We love to hear the birds singing to us, we love to hear that the flowers are speaking to us, to hear the brooks bubble to us of joy and beauty. But, unfortunately, there is joy and beauty everywhere around us except in the homes of the common people. Now I think we shall have to take the year 1914 or the year 1918 as a kind of line of demarcation in the history of our work. These May Day gatherings should be held in order that Labour on the one side and the Church on the other should take stock of the situation. Reconstruction used to be rather a favourite work in political circles only a few years ago. To-day we are living in ruins largely as a result of war conditions, largely as a result of the difference the war made in our moral conception. Europe might, I think, very largely be said to be in ruins, therefore there can be no doubt that the Church and Labour must make their contributions to this problem of reconstruction.

**“ Better Lose the Church, than Christ.”**

There is a vast amount of suspicion in existence. The Church suspects Labour of being anti-Christian and Labour suspects the Church of being anti-Labour. The Church as an organisation appears to be on the decline and side by side with this decline we see the rise of democracy, and it is said that therefore one is opposite to the other. It is my

business to address Labour meetings, and in the course of the last few years I have often tested my audience in this way. I have made a deliberate reference to the Church, and it has very frequently been received in silence, then I have made a reference to the teachings of Christ and it is immediately received with acclamation; and I say this is very encouraging, for after all it is far better to lose the Church than to lose Christ. Christ has the confidence of the man in the street; he has a belief in the wisdom and justice of His principles, and is drawn by the revolutionary Christianity of the Cross.

### **The Power of Prayer.**

When you pray, pray and long for the time when the whole of the Heaven will be down on earth. A large number of the things we take for granted and are characteristic of our present system would disappear if the will of the Father were done. Take unemployment, there is no place for unemployment in the Kingdom of Heaven. Take slumdom, there is no place for slums or slum owners. There is no place for extreme poverty; there is no place for extreme wealth. These are not essential things. The basis of Christianity is not the retention of property but the retention of life. Life is the great central fact which Christ wants us to concentrate upon.

### **Life or Property—Which?**

Now our present system, as the Labour man sees it, challenges life. As I came into this Hall to-night the first thing I saw was a poster which said, "Save your Hospitals." Because your hospitals only save life they have to go begging. Every Wednesday or Thursday at the seaside a box comes round for the life-boat, an institution which saves life and not property. Your Salvage Corps never has to beg because it saves property. "I came that men might have life and have it more abundantly," and consequently it is vital that the Church should really take a stand within the domain of economics as well as in the domain of morals. But, my friends, do you not see that if the workers are going to control industry Christianity must have a place, lest their system become as demoralised as the present one.

### **"Let him . . . take up his cross."**

There were two brothers in a certain town who were in business as coal merchants. One became converted and he was very anxious to share the joy with his brother, and he was always asking John to come to the meetings. But John said, "It is all right, William; I like to go to the meetings, but if both of us become converted who is going to weigh the coal?" Now how much sacrifice are we prepared to make for what we call the Cross? We have got to call upon the people in the Church, and the Church has got to call upon the people in the Labour Movement to do the right thing, cost what it may. By carrying your Cross you can reconcile friends, but you cannot reconcile war with Christianity. Can you see Jesus at the head of a big battalion? War is always the working man's grave, and Labour demands that these offences against our national life shall be destroyed. What is the Church going to do? The new social order can only be possible if we give up self and accept service. "Would you mind reserving two front seats for us in the Kingdom?" was the request of some of His disciples. He said, "No! He that would be greatest among you, let him be a servant." That is the only condition.

### **"He that hath Clean Hands."**

I recall a story of a man in his dreams looking on a scene before the judgment throne of God, and one came before the Almighty and said, "Lord, I have journeyed through the streets of the earth, I have wandered for so many years, I have been so careful and so cautious in my wanderings that I have succeeded in keeping my garments absolutely clean; there is not a spot on them." The Lord looked at him and said, "Thou sayest truly, thy garment is clean, but just lift thy garment and show thy feet," and when he did so it was seen his feet were covered with blood. The Lord said, "Thou hast kept thy garments clean, but you have done it by walking over the bodies of men." Then another man appeared and he said, "Lord, I beheld my sister and I went down into the ditch and lifted her out, but my garments all became smeared with mud," but when he also lifted his garments his feet were free from blood, and the Lord said, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, inasmuch as

thou hast done it unto this my daughter thou hast done it unto Me."

### **The Church's Duty.**

This is an illustration of what not only the Church but the Labour Movement must do. The person who wishes to save his life, after all must run some risk of losing it. The Church that wants to call the working classes back to Church must be prepared to come down into the depths of society and to lift up our fallen brothers and sisters. It must convince them that it is less concerned about creed than about serving, less concerned about dogma than it is about Christianity. The Church may lose money, but it will gain the soul of democracy, and they will march forward together and all men then will render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and no more, and unto God the things that are God's and no less.

*At Barclay Hall, Forest Gate.*

### **Miss MURIEL LESTER** (Kingsley Hall, Bow).

I want to speak as a woman from Poplar. I think I am voicing the opinion of a great many of my neighbours when I say that we are terribly unsatisfied with both the Church and the Labour Movement.

### **"Down to Realities."**

I sometimes think it is tragic for us to keep on going up to Hyde Park to listen to speeches. Speeches are all very well, but we want something done. Often all one hears is, "Clear them out," "Chuck him out," "He's no good, chuck him out." We listen to speech after speech of nothing but the condemnation of others. The world cannot be made better by calling people names. The things that ought to be mentioned—life, the realities of life, and the things that are with us every day—one scarcely hears spoken of. Destructive criticism without a constructive alternative is of no use whatever. That is what so many of us have got to learn.

## The Shallowness of Religion.

The centre of my work lies at the Kingsley Hall, Bow. The people who sold us that hall left behind something that they thought was worthless. An old eight-day clock was up on the wall. We thought they had forgotten to take it, thinking at last we had got something for nothing. We found it went for 24 hours, then it stopped. After a week had passed, we wound it up again, and it seemed to be going all right, but it only went for 24 hours. One of our children sitting there in our school said, "Why, that is a religious clock, it only goes on Sundays." Then I thought of what underlies our religion. I thought of those people who go on talking, and of those who go further and prove.

Oftimes I have visited ministers and college man and I have asked them to make mention from the pulpit the starvation on the Continent. One said to me, "Feed *them*! Help to feed *them*! Starvation is what they deserve!" Babies born since the Armistice are dying by the hundred. Poor, innocent things, what have they done? Christ teaches us to "Love our enemies, and to feed them." And even we here, who try to do these things, know that we are not living up to the things Christ said, and we never shall until we put the whole of our will-power in the fight. We are not in the world to make it our own; we are in the world to serve the needs of others; and if we are not doing that, we have no right to hinder those who are trying to do so. There are thousands of utterly ignorant Christians, and it is appalling when we think of how few there are who really believe in the true Christian principles and try to put them into practice. There are thousands who think it is utterly impossible to live without the present Capitalist system.

## Christ and the Profiteers.

What do the majority of people think of the value of Truth for themselves? Think of the misrepresentation of Christianity, and of the people who have not sense enough to look at the thing for themselves. If they did they could not help owning up that the reason why Jesus was killed was because of His unequivocal stand against private enterprise and the profiteer. Picture to yourselves any of

the parables and their meaning. Think of Christ inside the Temple, where were gathered together the ruling classes of the day. In every corner they were engaged in the thing that they knew was injurious to the life of the people. They were profiteering. Christ told them that they were thieves. He was angered, and turned on the merchants, saying that His House was a House of Prayer, and that they had made it a den of thieves. Thieves! Yet they were only carrying on the business of buying and selling, and speculating in goods. Jesus called them thieves. That shows what he would think of our present commercial system if he was here to-day.

### G. A. SPENCER, M.P.

for Broxtowe (Miners' Federation of Great Britain).

I would like first of all to say how very delighted I am to be associated with this meeting to-night, which has for its object the bringing more closely together of the Christian and Labour forces. From both sides, in my opinion, there is a very great need indeed why the Labour Movement should come more closely to the Christian Church, and a very great need indeed why the Christian Church should associate itself with the aims and ideals of the Labour Movement.

### "The Biggest Shilling."

The trouble to-day is that there is a desire on the part of a great number of people of all classes to bring to themselves the maximum amount of material gain for the minimum of individual effort. Our present system of society fosters such a spirit. It is practised every day on the Stock Exchange. The best investment, of course, is always sought after, and men on the Stock Exchange to-day seek to appropriate to themselves the power to provide future wealth. This large material gain which is sought for can only be gained at the expense of the labour of someone else. This, therefore, means that a great burden will have to be borne by someone, and that someone will consequently be a worker. This being the case, is it any wonder that the worker, of

both hand and brain, becomes filled with discontent because of his drab and hopeless life, and begins to clamour for some change both in the conditions of life and the system of society as at present existing?

### The Duty of the Church.

If I had to state the problem of to-day with regard to the Church's work and the work of the Labour Party, I think I would put it in this way. The Church is a large and powerful body, and those in the Church find a spiritual element administering to their deepest needs. The outsider must admit that the Church possesses a value and an ability, which if only it chose to use in the direction of righting the wrongs of our present system and in uplifting the mass of the population, would find that it was fully competent of rendering valuable and Christian service to the people of this land. The Church should not be afraid to state the principles of Christ's teaching with regard to the prevailing spirit in certain sections of business life to-day. I mean that which I have already referred to, namely, the desire to obtain a maximum amount of material gain at a minimum of individual effort. If the Church will only teach the message of Christ, it cannot help but advance the cause of Labour, because the principles of Labour are based upon the teachings of Christ.

We of the Labour Movement are seeking to inspire each man and woman to give as much as they take. That is a moral question, and is both the work of the Labour Movement and the work of the Church. But, it may be retorted, that if all men and women are to give as much as they take, you are leaving out the children, the infirm, and the aged. Not so; they would, in most instances, be rewarded because of their past services, and in others because of their physical inability; and the children because of their promise of service to come. The Church can help by inspiring men to give really as much as they take, so that they will not seek some short cut to attain material wealth and only to appropriate the rewards of united endeavour to administer to their own pleasure. But rather seek the application of the spirit and teaching of Christ when he said "do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you."

## The Motive behind Actions.

But the question arises : Can this ideal be attained, and is it possible to change this prevalent spirit of selfishness to one of unselfishness? Now, such a question is very difficult to answer, but it is worth considering for a few minutes. We are told by those who have studied the question, that the fundamental basis of all conduct, human and animal, is instinct. Although I am not going to attempt to belittle religion, yet there is no denying that religion does not affect human conduct to an extent we would like or should expect. Less worthy forces move us. Even if you go a step higher you will find that human effort is merely regulated by a sense of reward and punishment. We only act because we are going to get some reward or avoid some punishment. That is the standard of conduct of thousands of respectable people in this country at the present time. We only act on "What are we going to get for it?" "To what extent are we going to avoid a certain punishment if we do this thing?" And I think none of us having ideals inspired by Christian teachings can feel satisfied one moment with a system of ethics which is based on a sense of mere rewards and punishments ; but frequently this is due to the prevailing conventional standards of morality and the environment.

## The Effect of Environment.

And here we come to that vexed question which is so often put, "Can you improve swine by putting them into a palace?" To compare human beings with swine is irrelevant, for in my opinion it *is* possible to improve human beings if we create a new environment and inculcate a noble idealism. There is no doubt that the Church has been the means of improving and uplifting many men and women who have been living lives among filth, and that is why, in this matter of social reform, the united action of both the Church and Labour is necessary. The work of the social reformer and the moral reformer are both required—the former seeking to improve economic conditions, and the latter seeking to inspire noble effort in human life and character. Men brought up in homes where respectability and refinement are the chief characteristics—the social inheritance of that life will largely preserve them and save

them going to the depths of degradation that their less fortunate brother might fall to. While, on the other hand, how can you expect to get high standards of morality where you have three and four and five families huddled together in one house or one room. Environment plays a large part in a man's life.

### **"Praise and Blame."**

Further, we find that in higher circles of human activity our conduct is generally regulated by a sense of praise and blame. I am afraid very few of us get beyond that. We might ask ourselves: What has been the motive force of my conduct throughout to-day? Why have I come here to-night? Have I done everything because I expect your approbation? Have I done it because I want to escape some blame? Have I done it because I want someone to praise me? If that is really our standard of conduct, then, as has been said already to-night, we have failed to preserve the Spirit of the Nazarene. The conduct of Jesus was never impelled from behind. The conduct of Jesus was drawn, as it were, from before. His life was inspired by an idealism. He was one who saw the exalted goal and went for it. Our life is not so regulated, because our conduct is not what His was. We often have no goal. Suppose we had gone last Saturday to see the Cup Final at Chelsea; a great crowd had assembled, and when we got to the ground there were no goal posts and no corner flags; the ground was not marked out. The teams came on, and they kick the ball about anywhere and everywhere. "Why," you would say, "this is not a game of football; this is just folly. There are no goals, no definite aim." And this is identical with many lives to-day. There is no great motive and no idealism. Whether I am in the Labour Movement or out of it, my life is not going to be the success my Maker has deemed it should be, if in my life there is no goal.

### **Labour's Final Aim.**

If my efforts to-night have helped any one person, they will not have been in vain; and from that point of view, if the Church can assist in giving Character to the Labour Movement by supplying spiritual life and fidelity, one feels that the Labour Movement is going to be far more successful

than it has ever been. *I would not stop in the Labour Party for twenty-four hours if I thought that its final aim and end was merely material.* I naturally want the Labour Party to lay down a sure foundation of economic security, the basis of which shall form the chief corner-stone of a noble superstructure to be built before long—a Temple which shall be the embodiment of all that is best intellectually, æsthetically, ethically, musically, and spiritually, of human endeavour. The criterion of all our activities should be, not whether they are clever or whether they are really better than someone else's, but one of truth and fidelity. If you look in the Book of Kings you will find that Solomon had to send to the King of Tyre to get his men to cut down wood on the hills of Lebanon. After he had sent these men away and after the Temple was finished, God came into that Temple and spoke to Solomon, and He said that He had hallowed the House. I have asked myself this question: When God hallowed His House, did He hallow the work of the men on the distant hills of Lebanon? I have a profound faith and belief that God Who hallowed the great Temple did not forget those slaves whose simple, honest work had been the means of gathering the wood from the far-distant hills of Lebanon. And I would say this: “Be thou faithful in that which thou doest,” either in the Labour Movement or out of it, or in the Church or out of it. “Be thou faithful in the little that thou doest.”

### **“To Remove the Spiritual Poverty.”**

I am proud of the Labour Movement's work, and I am, of course, anxious that our system of economics shall be better, purer, and juster, so that the homes of the people shall be beautiful and good. I want the people to be able to get out and appreciate the quiet places, to enjoy life's quiet and solitude where the real sunshine and beauty can be seen, where the birds sing, and the eternal brook babbles its message, and God is seen in all His beauty. Upon this basis of economic security we want to see our structure built. I can imagine a real Temple of Peace in which the rich ingenuities of the human mind are liberated, and the lives of all others enriched.

The great men of to-day have had the opportunities of advancement, they have had the facilities for the development

of their gifts. A vast number of the people have been denied them. If the Labour Movement is condemned for being materialistic, there would be some justification for even such a position ; but we are not merely out to get physical poverty removed ; we are out—speaking for myself—to remove as far as is humanly possible the intellectual and spiritual poverty of the age. Given better conditions, I believe that the rich vein of intellectual and moral gifts which is deposited in the minds of the people can be drawn out and developed so that life may consist not only of the things that we can see, handle, and possess, but of the things that are unseen and eternal.

### **“Beauty and Joy.”**

The Labour Ideal and the Christ Ideal is that all shall be able to live their life to the full. That all may be able to appreciate the beautiful, and experience the peace and rest that comes from sweet and good music and from the study of all that is lovely. “A thing of beauty is a joy for ever.” But so many people see so little of beauty—having none in their homes and never going elsewhere where it can be seen and appreciated—and they have very little of joy either. The Labour Ideal and the Christ Ideal is, then, to give to life *Beauty and Joy*, and the deep tranquillity that comes from true and faithful service.

*At The New Tabernacle, Old Street, Shoreditch.*

**A. E. WATERSON, M.P.**  
for Kettering (Co-operative).

I can assure you it is no mean delight to me to be present in this campaign, which for many years has been so well known throughout the country, and of which the Browning Settlement is the centre. Ever since I took an interest in the Brotherhood Movement, ever since I became interested in the Labour Movement, I made up my mind to do all I could ; and when the invitation came, I said I would do my best, because this was the first chance that came to me to ally myself to this movement. Why have I been so earnest about it? I am proud to be associated with this movement

of Labour and Religion because of the spiritual intentions that are within me, and if I were to take a text this evening, which I am desirous of doing, I would ask you to centre your thoughts around those words, "*Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto Me.*" Wonderful, powerful words, containing so much as they do the very kernel and soul of Jesus. They speak to us of the ultimate test of life, as consisting, not in the dogmas that we profess, nor yet in our standing within this Church or any other, but in the character of our service for humanity.

Again, the test of life is not in our behaviour to the rich and the powerful, or even those from whom we may hope to receive recompense, but in our attitude to those who are most helpless, who are least able to reward us, save only by their love. The text speaks of the new motive which Christ introduced into life, a motive to purify philanthropy and benevolence from the taint of selfishness and self-esteem.

### **"The Last Shall be First."**

It had come to pass that the Jews' almsgiving had come to be regarded as a method of securing the Divine favour. A man did his good works because he expected to receive a return in kind, with the compound interest added; or he did them for appearances' sake; or he did them as a sort of disagreeable duty to society which he would have evaded if possible. In short, he did them unto himself or unto the world. The motive which Jesus supplied was different; it was, "For My sake, unto Me." He affirmed in His teaching, "The brotherhood of Man," His companionship to the least, the least in the land, the least in human estimation, the least in position and influence, the least in attainments. By His wonderful prophecy He drew these children of despair, the victims of neglect, out of the dark, dismal background to which they had been relegated, and set them in the forefront of the world's care and thought; and as He looked on these He said, "These are your business, yours, as mine is not with the righteous, but with the sinner; not with those who can fight their own battles, but with those who cannot; not with those who may make their own way, but with those who can't."

Christ Himself gathered about Him the dark and destitute

sons and daughters, and He presents them to the Church and the State, and He says, "I identify myself with these; as you behave to these you behave to Me; by your attitude to these you shall be justified; and by your attitude to these ye shall be condemned." Before I come, then, to some analysis of the classes of people around whom Christ throws the everlasting protection of His brotherhood, I wish to say a word on "The test of Orthodoxy." If words have any meaning at all, the most solemn words perhaps that our Lord ever used about the future—the final judgment—on Church and individuals, is on their deeds and not on their creeds. I repeat it, *deeds not creeds*. In emphasising that, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I am not here to say a single word in support of the argument, that if you live well belief does not matter. Behind all goodness there will lie Gospel, and behind the highest goodness there will ever lie the highest Gospel.

### "Attempt Great Things."

Men are often better than their creed and often worse, but that is only because they do not state their real belief. The main teaching here for you and me is that creed without deed will never save a soul. Faith without works is dead; your failure of working will not strengthen faith, but rather weaken it. Therefore, if the Church wants to-day to strengthen its faith, let it attempt great things in faith for this town and for every town. Its life heroic, its faith will ne'er grow dim. Let it put its faith to the proof. The daring of the missionary has done more to stimulate faith at home than thousands of sermons. Consecrated audacity reacts healthily upon belief always, and if the Churches are to live then they must act out their creed, for it is the active creed that God blesses, the deed that it done out of loyal love to Him, who loved us, and gave Himself for us. I wish, therefore, to be intensely practical and consistent. I want to direct your attention to the classes of necessitous humanity, which, according to the words of Jesus, belong to the brotherhood of the Son of Man; and by our attitude to whom, you and I are ultimately to be judged. Let me ask you to observe these points. In the hungry, thirsty, and naked, poverty is represented. In the stranger, loneliness and friendliness. In the sick, suffering. In the im-

prisoned, vice and crime. Poverty, loneliness, friendlessness, suffering, vice and crime; these are the burdens under which the life of humanity is ever crushed. They were the burdens of cities then, they are to-day, and our business as Christian individuals and Christian Churches is to remember that all these classes are brothers of the Son of Man, and it is our sacred privilege and duty to seek to lift these lives from the burden which crushes them.

### The Duty of Personal Service.

*"Naked and ye clothed me."* The problem of poverty—chronic, helpless (irremediable poverty), if there is such a state—what a dire, dark problem it is. The poverty of Jerusalem or Capernaum may have been great, but it could never have approximated even the poverty of London. The hundreds of thousands who spend their lives on the starvation line, whom a very little misfortune and irregularity of work, and alas! a little improvidence, reduced to absolute starvation. I like to visit London, but the pain of the sights of poverty I see is sometimes more than I can bear. Now in the presence of poverty such as this, we are not justified by our theories, but by our humanity. Nothing is easier than to discuss the causes and effects of poverty from an armchair, but alas! whilst we theorise the hungry starve, the neglected children die in the streets and in unfit dwellings. The Christ Judgment is on the neglect of personal service. The average man will come and say, "But I pay my poor rate, I support the workhouse and Charity Organisation Society—what lack I yet?" "*Inasmuch as ye have done it not.*" It is not your money, after all; it is your love Christ asks, your care, your sacrifice, your thought, and what we want to-day, by the consent of all workers among the poor, is not doles, but more hearts, more thought, care, sympathy, counsel, less money and more manhood. The test of Christianity is not by the poor rate we pay, but what we do without legal compulsion out of a large and loving sympathy and an unselfish zeal for the good of the brethren of Jesus. "*I was a stranger and ye took me in.*" I suppose the greatest terror of a large city is that of friendlessness, the sense of approaching extremity, the sense of need, shutting in upon you, without a single soul to whom you can turn for advice and help. We all know how true it is that there is no place

where a man can be so lonely as in a vast crowd, where he knows no face.

### **Friendship for the Friendless.**

A Christian should aspire to be a friend who will extend to the stranger the priceless hospitality of mind and soul. The loneliness of any city can only be mitigated as we who profess and call ourselves Christians become, not only in name, but in fact, friends of the people, friends of the friendless. What a change would take place in the world if every Church of Jesus Christ were known as a centre where friendship could be found; it would be offering the world a commodity more precious than rubies. "*I was sick and ye visited me.*" The stress is laid on personal service. Personal solicitude for the suffering and the sick, the contribution of yourself, your care, your sympathy—that is the way to pour in the oil and wine, "*ye visited me.*" From the very first days of the existence of the Christian Church it has been recognised that all the sick and suffering are, as it were, its peculiar property, and belong to it by the strange ties of weakness and of need. Christ at the beginning took the sick and laid them in the arms of the Church. "*I was imprisoned and ye came unto me.*" The brotherhood of Christ even includes the children of crime and shame, even those who have suffered, probably deservedly, for sins against God and man.

Yes, men and women, with the brand of the prison upon them, the habitual criminals of our cities, those who are expiating their offences against the law of righteousness, and would seem to have cut themselves off from any claim of pity and of interest; they, too, come within the brotherhood of Christ. You may say, but the State has undertaken their correction—what have we to do with it? The power of the State to correct and cure has failed, but Christianity has not. When Christ turned His gaze upon those who were least in virtue, least in likeness to God, He owned them as His charge. He plighted to them His world. He pledged them redeeming grace and everlasting love.

### **The Sin of Neglect.**

My last point is Christ's condemnation of indifference; the first point of this is a very familiar one, His condemna-

tion of our neglect—indifference. “ Inasmuch as ye did it not.” Oh, yes, it is very easy to praise other people who did it—you were very sympathetic, you even applauded them, you enjoyed the illustrations that the minister gave in his sermons; but still, “ you did it not.” You may add that you have done nothing to aggravate the situation. You did not make the people hungry, it’s not your fault they are unemployed, you never engineered a corner in wheat, you would, of course, shudder from the thought of taking bread out of anyone’s mouth. And yet the Master turns on you who have done neither good nor evil; you have neither helped nor hindered the troubles of modern life; you have taken no part, no sides, and He says to you, “ Inasmuch as ye have done it not.” I know that you will admit that the poor, friendless souls are not your fault; you are not responsible for spreading disease, you have never been a tempter of others to the path of vice and shame. But, what have you done on the other side? Nothing. Think, has Christ been with you unrecognised and unhonoured, all these years? My second idea of this condemnation of indifference is this, the work being thus so comprehensive, so difficult, so grave, and unexacting, what motive of service can possibly suffice, “ The love of Christ constraineth me.” Christians do not worship a memory. No, they love, honour, and follow a living Leader. The leader of the Church of Christ is never absent, never lost. He is always in the midst, and men living who have served their time most unselfishly, have done it because they were laying their gifts of obedience at His feet. It was unto Him.

### A Call for Consecration.

The work is not impossible. Poverty, friendlessness, suffering and crime are around us, not to cause us to despair, but to open our eyes to see the greatest fact in this world—that their Redeemer is always among them.

The Church to-day needs more active living, live members, and it should only be the beginning of a more active life. Teachers, preachers, social reformers are wanted to-day to swell the ranks of the men who perform. Who is willing this day to consecrate his service unto the Lord? May there come upon all the spirit of hope, and that passion for humanity, so that they shall carry broken lives to the

feet of God. True, there is much to learn from the Middle Ages concerning citizenship and Christian duty. Millions of our fellow-men live in un-ideal, inhuman conditions. Overcrowding, insanitation, and dreariness, and even hideousness, which should never be tolerated by real citizens of any age. The need of humanity to-day calls upon us as it has never called before. Poverty, unemployment, war, convention, all of these having great effects upon civic life, should make us realise that the city needs our service, and that failing to give it we neglect our responsibilities and make the burden greater to bear for those who are willing to serve. The old cry, "Well, what can I do?" will not excuse us. We have all a niche in life to fill. Are we filling it?

### A Vision of the Future.

The future of villages, towns, or cities depends on you and me. For too long has nature, God's gift to all the people, been defaced by men who for greed have destroyed nature's beauty that they cannot even renew. The future is ours when we recognise our responsibility. I see in a vision a fairer time, a nobler race, a loftier spirit dominating where all will realise an injury to one is an injury to all. Our women folk, who for so long have been debarred the right of adding to the civic good and the life of the city, are really to play an important part in making the new city of the future. Houses should be built for those who are to live in them, where the drudgery round of women's daily toil shall be ended. Multitudes of improvements can be done when we have the will. Physically defective children, care-worn consumptives, and nursing mothers, the halt, the lame, the blind, all are crying for assistance; but we are only stifling the cry by giving an anæsthetic instead of applying the healing balm. 'Tis insufficient to-day to merely have faith; we must have an application of that faith to every-day problems.

Our eyes must not merely be in the heavens; we must have the heaven here. The path of duty is obvious, the very instinct of nature calls us on; 'tis in your will to follow or otherwise. The love and peace of Christ has stood the test of many years. Its policy ever stands the light of day. It rises above the sordid dust of common materialism

and selfish greed. By applying its truths to modern society it relieves the oppressed, uplifts the poor, enriches the soul, and brings upon earth peace, harmony, love, and joy.

*At Browning Hall, Walworth.*

**Rev. T. P. STEVENS**  
(North Southwark Labour Party).

**A Labour Parson.**

I want to begin by saying that the parson who is heart and soul in the Labour Movement does not always feel very comfortable in the Church. His position is not easy. Very often he is not free to enunciate the principles he holds dear. If, for instance, he was a pacifist between 1914-1918, it was very difficult for him to admit it. If his work takes him into a suburban parish where most people are snobs, he dare not attack vast riches or gross inequalities. In spite of the changes which have taken place in public opinion, the democratic parson is cramped, and he longs for freedom. Is such a parson a craven fellow, lacking in courage? Not necessarily. He finds himself in the midst of conditions which have become a tradition. The commercial and social systems of England have evolved during a long period of years. Most people—most good people in fact—can conceive of no other method of living. The man who comes right up against the accepted tradition is a profane revolutionary lacking in respect for God and man. The parson knows the system is wrong; he also knows it is useless to attack it with full force. He is too often working among people who have no brains to think with, but only ingrained prejudices. If he is not in the suburbs but living among the working classes his difficulties are almost as great, because the workers of this country are not interested in peace, liberty, or justice. So the parson, wherever he may be, is in a difficult position because no one will give him a hearing in a parish. If he wants a hearing he must appeal to a wider public.

**The Church and the Wealthy.**

Then there is another difficulty. Many business men are scoundrels, and many wealthy men are knaves—but not all. Some of the kindest people in the land are wealthy Church-

people. They have no right to be wealthy of course, but they are, and often wealth has become a tradition with them.

It is exceedingly hard for a parson in a well-to-do parish to denounce people in the congregation who are really living up to what they conceive to be right. They are not convinced that any other system of living has the benediction of heaven, and an attack on them would do no good and would wound fine susceptibilities. So I appeal for sympathy for the poor parson.

### **Why Stay in the Church ?**

Yet the thought comes over a democratic clergyman—Can I go on? Am I justified in holding myself back from making a striking protest against this or that wrong?

Comrades, I have felt like that time after time. I remember just a year ago coming right through the East End. I had been preaching in Romford Parish Church to Trade Unionists. I spoke fairly directly, but used that due economy of expression which is expected of a parson. On my return journey I met the “Red Army,” mainly composed of children, driving back to the East from Hyde Park. I knew that those children were taught in their Socialist Sunday Schools the monstrous iniquity of war; the horrors of slavery and oppression. I knew that they were taught to regard themselves not merely as children of a competitive England, but as citizens of the world—members of an international family. I realised that such children were being educated in the things that are right, and educated more in harmony with Christian principles than they would be in some of our Sunday Schools. I sat in a tea-shop and thought of my economy of word and act. I remembered I had declined to go bail for a friend who was charged with a political offence a few days before. I felt a worm, I wanted to be free to lift my voice in the interests of all that I conceived to be right. I asked myself that night: What is it going to be? Are you going into the wilderness, or are you going to stay within the protecting walls of the Church? I cannot tell you all the processes of thought by which I arrived at my decision, but I decided to stay. You may think me mean and servile, but as I look back I believe I did the right thing. *I stayed because I believe it is Christianity which animates the Labour Movement.* I am confident in my own mind that its ideals, consciously or

unconsciously, are drawn from Christian sources. I am meeting in my political work a number of young men with real ideals, willing to make great sacrifices, men who simply desire this England of ours to be the New Jerusalem, and when I go into their history 80 out of 100 of them have been influenced by the lessons taught them in their early days in Sunday School. It is the Christian ideal which animates them in their political endeavours. Therefore, I still hold that, in spite of parsons, prelates, and millionaires, the Christian Church is the most potent force there is. I would like to see it made more effective—more effective in laying down those principles which Jesus Christ advocated 2,000 years ago. We must hate war for moral reasons, not material. We must hate poverty for moral reasons, not merely because it hurts us. We must oppose wrong anywhere and everywhere because it is wrong. Where do we get our moral ideas? Man is not a moral, virtuous, and unselfish being. He is being tamed. The only force which can tame men and fill them with the true spirit of charity and brotherhood is Christ. We cannot leave Him out. He must lead if democracy is to be a reality.

### **Christ—the first Socialist.**

There is in the city of Brussels what is called the “House of the People.” In it the Trades Unions have their offices, and the Labour and Co-operative movements run gymnasiums, clubs, classes, baths, and conferences. At the end of the principal hall there is a great picture of Christ. I asked the manager one day whether the Church was friendly to the people’s cause. He said “No.” I asked him why then the members allowed the picture of Christ to dominate the Conference Hall. He said “We have no antipathy to Him, He was the first Socialist.” That is what we ought to feel. The Church may be against us, but He is our Friend and Leader, we must claim His comradeship, and make His principles our own. If we don’t, our cause will never be triumphant, for we shall lack the guidance and the lead of the Great Emancipator of all time.

Once we accept Him as our Leader in the forces of progress in this country, and recognise that His Leadership, which revolutionises individuals, will revolutionise Society—then the day of victory will not be very far off.

**GEORGE EDWARDS, M.P.**

for South Norfolk (Agricultural Workers' Union).

Fellow working men and women, I am certainly very glad to be here, because this meeting makes manifest the great spirit of Brotherhood. Strangers you may be to me, but brothers and sisters you are. I perceive that you have all had a better opportunity of self-culture than I have had. I have never been to day-school in my life. I was a workhouse boy when I was five years old, and I went to work when I was six. I was a crow-scarer. My father did not bring home enough money to keep his wife and family, although he brought home all that his employer gave him. He used to add to his wages by bringing home turnips from his master's field, upon which we children depended for our meal. But he took these turnips once too often; one day he fell into the hands of the policeman and was sentenced to several days of hard labour for the crime of feeding his children. The shame and cruelty of this incident worked itself into my soul like a hot iron. It made me determined to work for a better state of things in the future.

**The First Essential—Character.**

In spite of the many trying experiences of my childhood and my lack of education, I am convinced that Character is the one essential for the well-being of our national and industrial life. There appears to be an important factor in the development of our social consciousness at the present time which is unparalleled in the history of our country. It is this. Public opinion is becoming strongly favourable towards some sort of change in our social system. Turn where we may, we find this important factor showing itself. If we turn to the religious world we find that the Churches scarcely hold a conference without some of the time being devoted to the discussion of some aspects of the social problems which confront us. But there can be no permanent improvement without Christianity. If you lay any other foundation, it is proved to fail. I am not ashamed to say that I am a Free Churchman. And in the Free Churches we find that much time is given to the consideration of the social problems. All are agreed that we

cannot go on as we are at present, with trade at a standstill and the very vitals of our national life being destroyed. Coupled with this there is the terrible suffering of the poor caused by unemployment. Think of this great social evil which is crushing the very spirit out of the people and driving poor, helpless women and girls into paths of immorality. James Russell Lowell, the great American poet, put the effect that the present social system is having on the lives of the people and the danger to our national life, in the following strain:

“ Said Christ our Lord, ‘ I will go and see  
 How the men, my brethren, believe in Me.’  
 He passed not again through the gate of birth,  
 But made Himself known to the children of earth.  
 And in Church and palace and judgment-hall,  
 He marked great fissures that rent the wall,  
 And opened wider and yet more wide  
 As the living foundation heaved and sighed.  
 ‘ Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,  
 On the bodies and souls of living men?  
 And think ye that building shall endure,  
 Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?  
 ‘ With gates of silver and bars of gold,  
 Ye have fenced my sheep from the Father’s fold :  
 I have heard the dropping of their tears  
 In heaven, these eighteen hundred years.’  
 ‘ O Lord and Master, not ours the guilt,  
 We build not as our fathers built ;  
 Behold Thine images, how they stand,  
 Sovereign and sole, through all the land.  
 ‘ Our task is hard,—with sword and flame  
 To hold thy earth forever the same,  
 And with sharp crooks of steel to keep  
 Still, as Thou leftest them, Thy sheep.’  
 Then Christ sought out an artisan,  
 A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,  
 And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin  
 Pushed from her faintly want and sin.  
 These set He in the midst of them,  
 And as they drew back their garment hem,  
 For fear of defilement, ‘ Lo, here,’ said He,  
 ‘ The images ye have made of Me.’ ”

I think that this poem should do more to arouse the social-consciousness of the people than anything else that has ever been written. And now, amid all this squalor and misery, we have one hopeful sign. It is that the religious bodies

are beginning to realise that these things should not be. I wish they had realised it before. The great purpose of the incarnation of Jesus can never be fulfilled so long as we allow the sweater's den to go unchallenged, and turn a deaf ear to the cry of the struggling mother eking out a miserable existence by slaving from morning till night for the sake of keeping body and soul together. Let us listen to the cry of the sweated as put by Thomas Hood:

" Oh, men, with sisters dear !  
     Oh, men, with mothers and wives !  
     It is not linen you're wearing out,  
         But human creatures' lives !  
     Stitch—stitch—stitch,  
         In poverty, hunger and dirt,  
     Sewing at once with a double thread,  
         A shroud as well as a shirt.  
     " But why do I talk of death ?  
         That phantom of grisly bone,  
     I hardly fear its terrible shape,  
         It seems so like my own—  
     It seems so like my own,  
         Because of the fasts I keep ;  
     Oh, God ! that bread should be so dear,  
         And flesh and blood so cheap ! "

### A Full and Free Life for All.

These lines could be truthfully applied to certain conditions even to-day. The slums in our large cities and the wretched insanitary areas in our rural districts have been tolerated long enough ! The abominable extremes that we find in our social life, with the rich on the one hand with their superfluity, and the great mass of poverty on the other, must, in the name of humanity and justice, be tackled and remedied. And we of the Labour Party are gratified that leaders of religious thought are beginning to realise that if a man is to live a full and free life—that Christ by His incarnation and blessed life and sacrificial life gave for man—then this social system will have to be adjusted.

The leaders of Religion are not alone in this respect. Men of Science are realising the same thing, and are taking an interest in affairs connected with our social system as they have never done before. In their conferences they have been dealing with these matters which affect the everyday life of the people. Many of them appear very anxious to

find a real remedy for these social evils. From our point of view, as Labour men, this is indeed encouraging. It is to be regretted that while so many are agreed that the present state of affairs is wrong, many of them are always quarrelling between themselves because they differ about the remedy.

### No Bloody Revolution!

I have endeavoured to portray to you some hopeful signs regarding our social problems, and although the present Parliament does not always do the things we wish it to, yet it is hopeful to notice sometimes that day after day some great social problem crops up and brings itself to our notice. Only the other day we spent the whole evening in discussing the great human question of compensation to injured workmen, and there was general agreement that some better arrangement must be made, especially for women and children. Yes, and Parliament will have to give much more time to such pressing problems as unemployment and poverty, both of which are a result of our cut-throat commercial system of to-day. It is either that or bloody revolution. And may the Eternal Father, through the righteous Spirit of His Son, prevent that. I wish those extremists who talk so lightly about revolution would think a little about the horrors which it would bring in its train. If they once came face to face with the reality of it, they would not talk so much about it. They are like certain people who during war are always talking about fighting to the last man, when they haven't been out to the scene of war themselves. If they had, they would not talk so much about it. Parliament has, whether we agree with it or not, put several beneficent Acts upon the Statute Book, though not half as many as it ought to have done. Here are some of them: Public Health Act, Maternity and Child Welfare Act, Feeding of Necessitous Children Act, also the protection of the lives and morals of the children by the passing of the Children's Act, which make it illegal for children to be taken into public-houses. Much more in this direction can and will be done if the great mass of the people will think soberly and act wisely and in a constitutional way, by sending men and women with noble ideals and who are

in sympathy with the aspiration of Labour, to serve in Parliament.

### National Purity Necessary.

In our efforts to secure social justice and economic freedom it must not be overlooked that purity in our national life is of extreme importance. To obtain this collective purity the individual must be made better and his character must be ennobled. There is a tendency in some quarters to overlook the value of moral worth in the individual, the factor which constitutes our national life. We must never forget that, however important it is to secure justice in the life of the people, however essential it may be to establish a new social order where justice and freedom shall prevail, the social efficiency of the State can never be separated from the personal fitness of those who compose the State.

If the heart of the State is to be pure, then we must endeavour to make the individual pure. So we must not forget to appreciate that which has been described as "the eternal worth of Character."

Now, what blocks the way to a higher social life? If I were to ask you that question, you would rightly answer, "The present unjust system of wealth." That is what Labour is seeking to remedy. But is that sufficient? My answer is, emphatically, "No!" There must be a quickening of the spiritual life.

Finally, let me say that there will be a new heaven and a new earth, and we can all help to bring it into being; but the man who spends most of his time in the tap-room and in the gambling-den is not doing anything to bring it into being, he is doing something to prevent it. Let us all work for the creating of the better man.

"Oh, droop not; though pain, sin, and anguish be around thee;  
 Bravely fling off the gold chain that hath bound thee;  
 Look to clear Heaven shining above thee,  
 Read not content in thy darkness, a clod.  
 Work for some good, be it ever so slowly,  
 Cherish some flower, be it ever so lowly,  
 Labour, all labour is noble and holy,  
 Let thy great deeds be thy prayer to God."

And if I may again quote James Russell Lowell:

" He's true to God who's true to man, wherever wrong is done,  
 To the humblest and the weakest 'neath the all beholding sun ;  
 That wrong is also done to us, and they are slaves most base  
 Whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all the race.  
 God works or all. Ye cannot hem the hope of being free  
 With parallels of latitude, with mountain range, or sea.  
 Put golden padlocks on truth's lips, be callous as you will,  
 From soul to soul o'er all the world leaps one electric thrill.  
 And albeit she wanders outcast, now I see around her throng  
 Troops of beautiful tall angels to enshield her from all wrong."

### **ROBERT YOUNG, M.P.**

for Newton (Amalgamated Engineering Union).

I feel it is a privilege to be permitted, during the course of this week, to identify myself with members of the House of Commons and others who believe Labour is necessary to the Christian Church, and that the Christian Church is necessary to the Labour Movement. I am pleased to note that my friend the Rev. T. P. Stevens is fulfilling a similar rôle, namely, in telling the Christian Church how it might help more strongly to bring the Kingdom of God upon earth. I wish him all success in his work. Men like him are needed in the Church. I rejoice to have been able to listen to one who has given many years of service to this work. The others on the platform with myself can unhesitatingly say that we desire a revolution to take place, not only in the economic conditions, but in all directions that will lead to the betterment of the people. The only difference some of you and ourselves (a large number of Communists were present) is that you believe in revolution by force, and we, in revolution by evolutionary process. Evolution must play its part, and is playing its part, in the history of our own country. We have our experiences, and I am fully convinced that it is better to be supporting all forward movements than to be breaking them. For, after all, we not only want the solidarity of Labour, but we want, as far as possible, to bring about the solidarity of mankind throughout the length and breadth of the world.

### **Our Debt to the Church.**

Many of us in the Labour Movement are deeply indebted for the experience we gained in our connection with the

Christian Church. I frankly confess that I separated myself from the Church for ten years, but at the end of that ten years I came to the conclusion that, in spite of all our political and industrial movements, the teaching of the Scripture was essential for the salvation of the political, economic, and industrial life of our people. I have also come to the conclusion that what is needed to-day is that we should make use of the Church. The Church is waiting to be used; we should utilise it as we utilise our Trade Unions, our Co-operative Societies, for the well-being of each of our fellows. I am glad to recognise that in the Church to-day there is an ever-increasing number of Ministers of the Gospel who realise that it is not only necessary to preach individual betterment, but recognise the necessity for collective co-operation for the betterment of all. We must not forget that fifty or sixty years ago there was practically no education for the working-classes, but as time went on, this was changed. To-day we all have some sort of education, and that education and experience has changed our views and altered our outlook. The Church has been influenced by this, and by the economic conditions existing to-day. Not many weeks back there was a declaration made by representatives of all Churches that the time had arrived when they—the workers—should have their say and a share in the control of industry. We welcome the help of every right-minded man in the community. In my estimation there are some things that the Church ought to do—it should lift some of the industrial questions above the strife of party politics. I say the question of unemployment should not be allowed, in so far as the Church is concerned, to remain purely a political question, but that it should cry out to those who, for the time being, govern the land, that it is a moral as well as an industrial question; and whether the workers can be found work or not, they should not be housed and live under conditions that are disgracing humanity as a whole. The Church should strive to find a solution for this great problem.

### To Abolish War.

Another movement which the Church should use all their organisation to push forward is—that making for the end

of all war. They can do far more in this direction than all the political party discussions in the House of Commons. I rejoice that they have helped us in this direction, but we want a great deal more of their help. There is a great work to be done here in breaking through the apathy of the people on this question and altering their outlook.

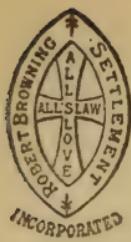
A vast number of our fellow-men may be indifferent to the teaching of those who preach from Church pulpits, and they are equally indifferent to the leaders in the working-class organisations, but that should not make us lessen our efforts. We recognise there is a great deal of spade-work to be done when we are striving, not for the benefit of an individual or a few, but for the good of all. The great Teacher gave us a new commandment greater than the whole ten, namely, that we should love one another. There is no greater commandment than that, and it is because we have never been able to reach to its height that we have experienced the disgrace of slumdom and the miseries of poverty. Let us try and live up to this commandment, and we shall see fuller developments of the human race advancing, as it must advance, along the lines of progress. I want to say to my fellow-workers that they make a big mistake in merely condemning the Church. Great help was given by it to the cause of Education, and it also helped to break down the idea that existed in the old days that there was nothing wrong in young children working from early morning till late at night. Let us realise the good that has been done, the help that has been given, and do our duty in increasing the power of the Christian Church in such directions as these. I ought to say this, that I am a member of a Christian Church, and feel that morality, in addition to sound economics, should be applied to some of our most pressing problems, and that is why I feel it is my duty to identify myself to it as I do now. But I want to say also that the Church as an organisation does not appeal to me alone; its ethical teachings appeal to me far more than its mere organisation, and I hope they will do so to you and all mankind. If we live up to these teachings we shall make history in our land—history hitherto unknown.

### **Church & Labour—Allies.**

I rejoice to identify myself with this Labour Week.

For my part, I recognise that the Church and Labour should march forward together, for if only we can work together those things which so many of us desire will the sooner be brought about on earth. If you desire and recognise that men can be better, you should join us and help us to deal with some of the outstanding questions on a moral basis, which would mean a solution to many of our greatest problems.





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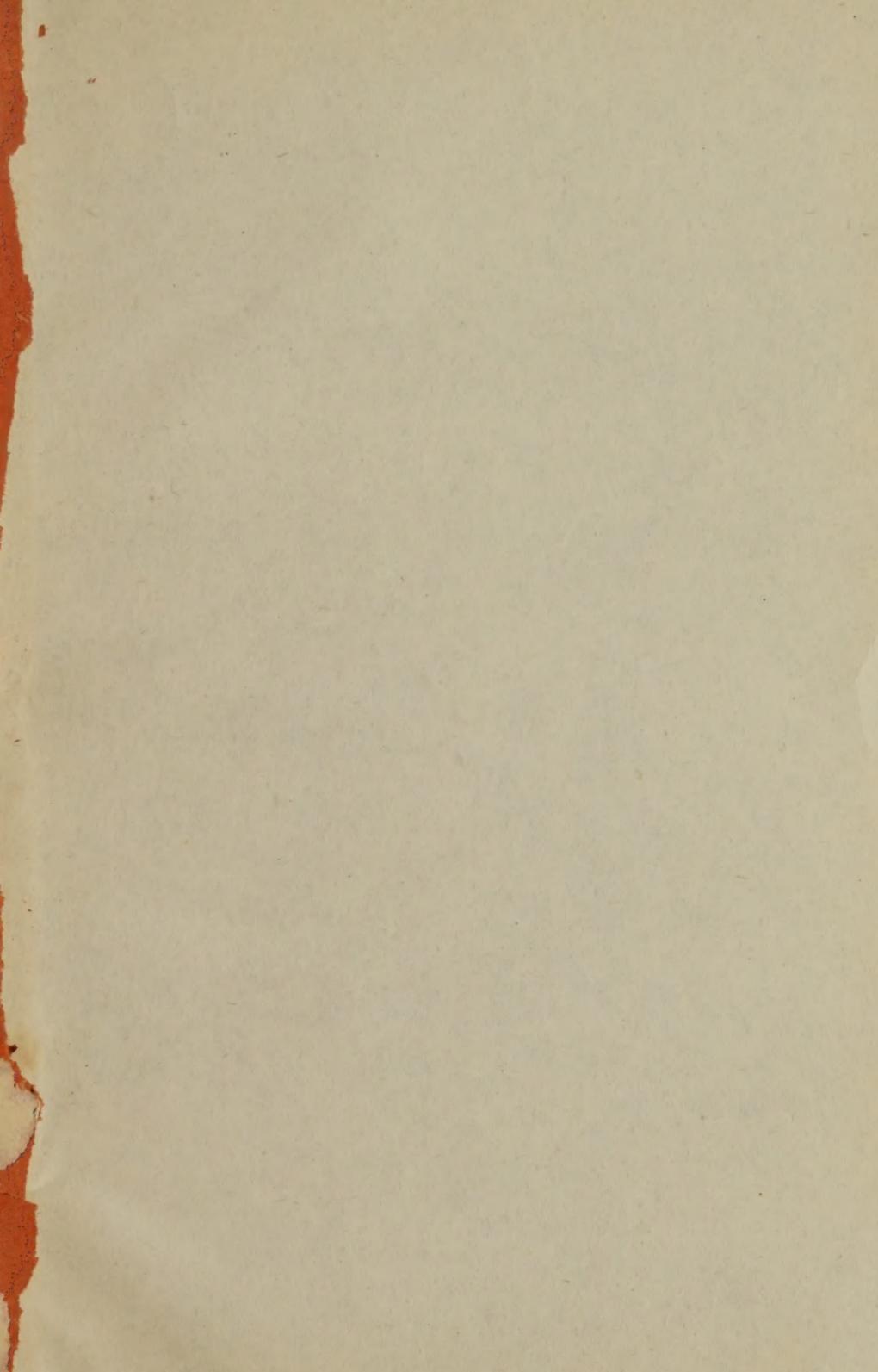
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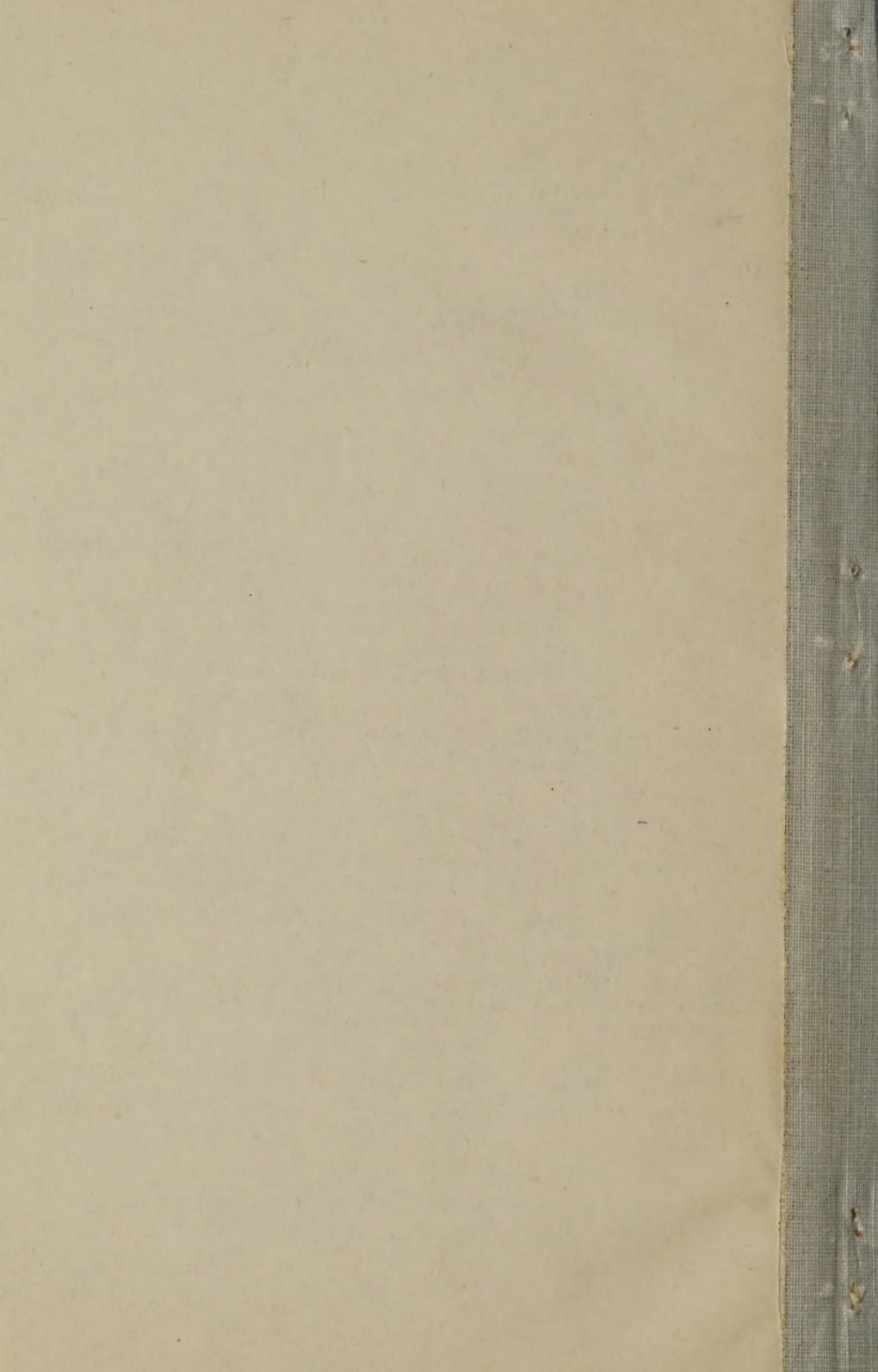
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